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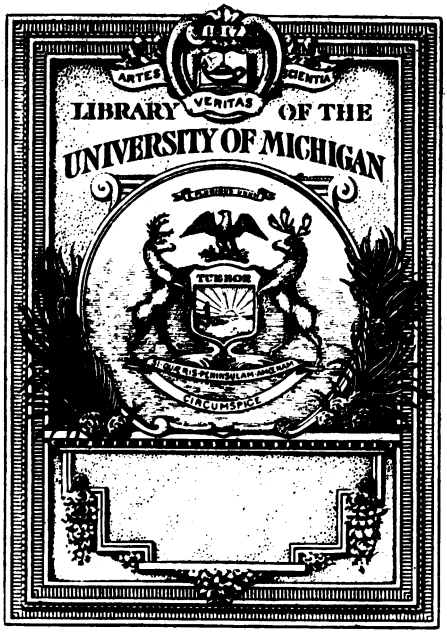
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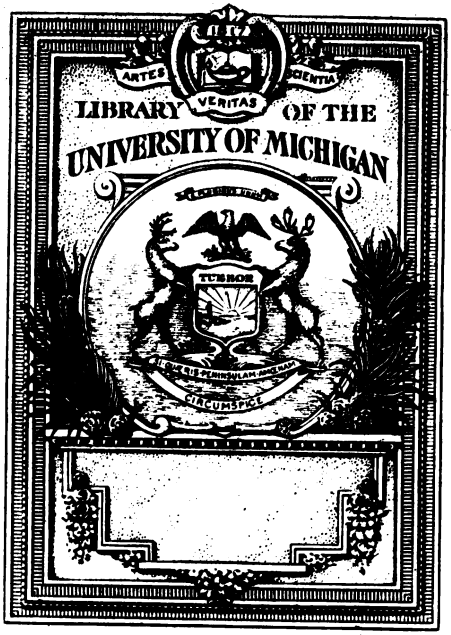
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CHINA,

DURING THE WAR

AND

SINCE THE PEACE.

BY

SIR JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, BART., F.R.S.

LATE HER MAJESTY'S PLENIPOTENTIARY IN CHINA; GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE COLONY OF HONGKONG.

ATTENTION PATRON:

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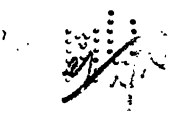

TO

VICE ADMIRAL

SIR THOMAS J. COCHRANE, K.C.B.,

LATE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

My Dear Admiral,

This Work is addressed to you in remembrance of days passed in China, and because there is nobody better able than yourself to judge of the various subjects of which it treats.

Yours faithfully,

J. F. DAVIS.

Athenæum Club,
March 25. 1852.

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PREFACE.

THE two portions of this work, though consecutive in point of time, and so far connected, are materially different in other respects. The first is, in fact, a Chinese History, founded on native documents not intended for our information; the second, the results of diplomatic transactions and personal experience during a four years' administration.

A mass of Chinese official papers, captured or otherwise collected during the war, seemed worthy of a better fate than to become the prey of worms, always peculiarly active in a hot climate. Dr. Gutzlaff, by my desire, furnished a regular series of translations and abstracts during the years 1844 and 1845,

D 7-9-45 Tibet

whence a condensed narrative has been given in the first volume.

This history of the war describes the impression produced, on the most ancient existing empire, by a blow unequalled in importance since the Manchow Tartar conquest. The British undertaking was the farthest military enterprise, of the same extent, in the history of the world; surpassing, in that respect, the expeditions of Alexander and Cæsar in the one hemisphere, and those of Cortes and Pizarro in the other.

> Qui gurges, aut quæ flumina lugubris
> Ignara belli? — quæve BRITANNICÆ
> Non decoloravere cædes?
> Quæ caret ora cruore nostro?

Followed so soon by the *El Dorado* of California, to which the Chinese are swarming from Hongkong across the Pacific — by that of Australia — and by the short passage over the isthmus of Panamá, it is not easy to

calculate the extent of the forthcoming revolutions in the channels of national and commercial intercourse. But it may be predicted that a British colony with twenty-five thousand Chinese subjects, in sight of the south coast of China, is destined to play a part in the drama of the future.

The two concluding chapters of the last volume, on the Indo-Chinese nations, may prove interesting at the present time. The chapter on Japan was already in the press, when the intelligence of an American mission to that country, of five vessels of war, reached London. Whatever may be the result of this undertaking, nothing important is likely to be gained by mere negociation, as the United States had already, in 1846, about as strong a force in the bay of Jédo, including a ship of 90 guns, under Commodore Biddle.* It is possible that the present exclusively naval

* Vol. ii. page 287.

armament may prove sufficient to carry out strong measures; but its amount is very different from our own seventy vessels of war and transports, with twelve thousand fighting men, before the walls of Nanking in 1842. If not sufficient, however, it may lead to something farther, from either the same or some other quarter.

This expedition is an opportune confirmation of the views and expectations entertained in the two chapters on the *Indo-Chinese nations*, who certainly will not be allowed much longer to remain in a state of avowed hostility to the rest of the world; — more especially JAPAN, which fires on ships in their necessity, and exhibits shipwrecked mariners in cages, preparatory to a cruel death. With them, at least, the time has arrived,

—— pacis imponere morem.

It remains for the rest of the civilised

world to wish the United States all success, and to expect that they will make a humane, liberal, and enlightened use of it.

Hollywood,
March 27. 1852.

PART I.

CHINESE HISTORY

OF

THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN;

FROM

SECRET STATE PAPERS CAPTURED DURING THE WAR,

AND TRANSLATED OR ABSTRACTED BY DR. GUTZLAFF,

INTERPRETER TO HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSION.

"Fas est ab hoste doceri."

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CHINESE HISTORY

OF THE

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF WAR TO APPOINTMENT OF THE NEGOTIATOR AT CANTON.

It was known, early in 1840, that a British force was approaching to take redress for the opium [illegible]e, and other outrages at Canton, great anxiety was felt on the part of those who were principally concerned, notwithstanding the real or pretended contempt which they had hitherto avowed for the resources of Great Britain. The Court itself of Peking being, from its great distance and other causes, the last to know or appreciate the real truth, had not yet participated in the alarm; but in the two maritime provinces of Canton and

Fokien speculations became rife as to the probable point of attack. The navy of the latter province had always, from the maritime habits of the people, been considered as the most effective in the empire, and might now expect to be called into action. An officer of this force gave it as his opinion, in an official document, that the English would attempt a settlement in the Pescadores, — small rocky islets in the Strait of Formosa, — and from thence injure the trade between that large island and the main. He formed a very inadequate calculation of the extent of the future operations.

About this time Teng Tajin, the late governor of Canton, had been transferred to Fokien. He was generally accused of having formerly, by his connivance at least, if not actual co-operation, promoted the opium smuggling at Canton. Here was an opportunity (as he thought) of signalising himself, and wiping off the imputation by the activity of his measures against the English. He found a ready coadjutor in a military commander, named Yupooyun, who had acquired some renown, and stood high in estimation at Pe-

king, by his success against certain native rebel tribes, — a very different enemy from those he was now to encounter. The conjoint consultations of these persons were recorded, and breathed inveterate hostility. At that period the most moderate propositions on our part would have stood no chance of acceptance, for nothing but the annihilation of the British force was insisted on.

Few warlike preparations were made at Chusan. The Chinese afterwards became sorely perplexed to understand why our blow should be first struck in *that* quarter, where they were not prepared, rather than at Canton, where the grievances arose, and where they were accordingly expecting our attack. A few junks were assembled opposite to Tinghae, the capital of the island, the miserable battery which was found on the beach being thrown up during the night while the negotiation for the surrender was pending.

With its usual crooked policy, the Chinese government, rather than it should be supposed a hostile attack could be contemplated, had issued proclamations at Chusan, pretending that the English were coming for *commercial*

purposes contrary to the laws, and warning the people to have no dealings with them. The war-junks in front of the town had no mercy to expect from the emperor, if they had not waited for the effects of our attack on the 5th of July, 1840, which they did in the most devoted manner, and were almost immediately destroyed.

The governor of the opposite province of Chĕkeang gave this account of the fall of Tinghae, the capital of Chusan, to his sovereign: — "On arriving at Chinhae (which commands the entrance of the Ningpo River), I had an interview with the admiral, and learned that the second in command had been wounded in an engagement with the English rebels, and several of our vessels sunk. On the capture of the town of Tinghae, neither the magistrate nor registrar would surrender to the enemy, but threw themselves into the water, and were drowned.* My surprise and

* To account for the number of suicides which took place among the Chinese officers, it must be observed that this practice of "playing the Roman fool," as Macbeth calls it, is considered as an honourable solution of a difficulty. The Japanese officers, when reduced to

horror were great on receiving this intelligence, viewing the important position occupied by Chusan, and its short distance from the main. I directed a number of men to watch the approaches of Chinhae, and gave orders to sink vessels in the channels, drive stakes into the river, and close the entrance with a chain. While thus engaged, I learned that the enemy had arrived in larger force, and among the vessels were some with three tiers of guns *, and others with wheels at the sides, moving as swift as the wind. Our force cannot cope with the barbarians in number, and must therefore keep on the defensive, wearying them out. When the great army is assembled, we shall take measures to seize them alive. . . . The vice-admiral had been advised to withdraw into Tinghae (abandoning his vessels), but he persisted in remaining outside. As the city was lost when above 1000 disposable troops remained, he

extremities, always *disembowel* themselves, one of the most painful deaths that could be devised—"mais, il faut mourir selon les règles."

* Counting the quarter deck as one.

will be arrested until your majesty's pleasure is known. The magistrate and registrar who drowned themselves, rather than submit, are deserving of all praise, and as soon as their families are discovered, they will be duly considered."

In a subsequent paper the writer expresses his conviction that the English, having shown such determination, would not rest satisfied, but press forward to the rich provincial city of Hâng-chow. He accordingly took all the precautions in his power, constructing batteries in the narrowest part of the approaches. This tempting prize, however, remained unapproachable by our ships during the war. The furious eddies in the deep bay within which it is placed, spun our steamers round, and the rapidity of the stream made them perfectly unmanageable. The Chinese Venice would otherwise have certainly been visited, and afforded a richer capture than any during the war.

Captain Elliot having forwarded a communication by means of a Chinese junk to the governor of Chĕkeang, that officer made the following report to the emperor: — "Full of

crafty schemes, the rebels detained a merchant junk, and forced the master to deliver a letter from a pretended minister of their country, in which he wants us to supplicate the court in their behalf for trade. Their designs being unfathomable, the original was rejected (a copy being taken), while we redoubled our precautions. The port is now closed, and the English barbarians have retired.

"I have requested a former naval commander on the Chusan station to take the necessary measures for recovering the island. He will for this purpose proceed thither in disguise, and make himself acquainted with the position of the enemy. These will of course divide their forces to occupy the most important passes; and our soldiers, when duly increased, may then fall upon them in the city, and repossess themselves of it. We must also provide a navy to prevent their proceeding to other places on the coast. The people of this province are not adapted to such service; but the natives of Fokien and Kuangtung, who have repeatedly obtained victories over them*, will make excellent sailors, and

* When?

inspire them with awe. I am therefore emboldened to intreat your majesty to order 2000 mariners from the latter province to enable us to exterminate the enemy."

At this period, Yukien, by birth a Mongol Tartar, was governor of Keangsoo province. This man proved himself in the sequel the most savage and remorseless brute that among several others disgraced his name and nation, but he met with a just fate at last. On hearing of the fall of Chusan, he issued this characteristic bravado, "Since the barbarians contumaciously loiter in the seas of Chekeang, it is probable that they will repair, after their defeat in that province, to our coast. I have, therefore, in conjunction with the commander of the troops, made arrangements to repel them. The country of these English is more than ten thousand *Le* distant from hence. Their traffic in opium, both at Canton and Macao, and their whole trade being cut off, they repaired to Fokien, whence they were also expelled, and they have now availed themselves of the wind to visit the northern shores. With no other resource than their ships, which require a draft of sixty cubits of

water*, they cannot approach our main, and therefore have taken Tinghae, encompassed on all sides by the sea. With us it is quite different; and every one of us may therefore without fear take care of his own gate, and not trouble himself about them. I look upon these enemies as mere bulrushes, having from my youth upwards read military treatises, and spread the terror of my name myriads of miles through Turkestan. Since the trade at Canton was stopped, I took precautionary measures; and if they dare to come to our shores, they will be like the moth in the candle, or the fish in the net. History proves that even our southern soldiers were victorious, and only want a leader to be so again. While, therefore, I guard the interior, the governor-general of the two provinces will take charge of the coast, so that every one may rest quietly on his pillow, and not let himself be disturbed by these robbers, who will instantly be put down by the military."

Notwithstanding the assumed security, and the consolatory exhortations of Yukién, it

* This is more than three times the draft of water of a first-rate line-of-battle ship.

proved that the periodical examination for candidates during the summer was dispensed with in this province,—a sure test of the distracted state of the country. It was soon proposed to close the seaports entirely, and thus prevent all intercourse with our shipping; but the seafaring people thus debarred from a livelihood would have occasioned great trouble to the government. Accordingly, it was resolved to enlist a large number as a naval militia. These people, it was calculated, would, from their knowledge of the adjacent seas, and the fearlessness with which they followed their calling, render effective service; and fifteen hundred were forthwith engaged for the defence of the provincial metropolis Hâng-chow, which however we never attacked. Notwithstanding the number of Chinese mariners on this coast, as strong, hardy, and enduring as can be found in most countries, none came forward to face us on their own element, except as the conductors of that cowardly system of *fire-rafts* which never once succeeded in the hands of either the Burmese or Chinese, though such a favourite with both. The rafts were always towed

ashore by the boats of the fleet, or sent down the stream to burn at their leisure.

When the capture and occupation of Chusan became more generally known, a certain censor of that privileged class whose business it is to advise the government, drew up a memorial, which met with high approbation at Peking, and was used as a text-book in the prosecution of subsequent operations. It is a strange compound of ignorance and natural shrewdness.

"The English barbarians are an insignificant and detestable race, trusting entirely to their strong ships and large guns; but the immense distance they have traversed will render the arrival of seasonable supplies impossible, and their soldiers, after a single defeat, being deprived of provisions, will become dispirited and lost. Though it is very true that their guns are destructive, still in the attack of our harbours they will be too elevated, and their aim moreover rendered unsteady by the waves; while we in our forts, with larger pieces, can more steadily return the fire. Notwithstanding the riches of their government, the people are poor, and unable

to contribute to the expenses of an army at such a distance. Granted that their vessels are their homes, and that in them they defy wind and weather, still they require a great draft of water *; and, since our coasts are beset with shoals, they will certainly, without the aid of native pilots, run ashore, without approaching very closely. Though waterproof their ships are not fireproof, and we may therefore easily burn them. The crews will not be able to withstand the ravages of our climate, and surely waste away by degrees; and to fight on shore, their soldiers possess not sufficient activity.† Without, therefore, despising the enemy, we have no cause to fear them. While guarding the approaches to the interior, and removing to the coast the largest guns, to give their ships a terrific reception, we should at the same time keep vessels filled with

* This has for a number of years been a topic of security and consolation to the Chinese. The great draft of water which they were told our ships required must, they thought, render it impossible for them to be very mischievous. They were undeceived by the war.

† The emperor was assured that the English soldiers were buttoned up so tight, that, if once down, they could never get up again.

brushwood, oil, saltpetre, and sulphur, in readiness to let them drive, under the direction of our marine, with wind and tide against their shipping. When once on fire, we may open our batteries upon them, display the celestial terror, and exterminate them without the loss of a single life."

Another writer gave a correct description of the situation of Chusan. In his opinion, the island was the key to Central China; and he proved this by going back three centuries. Before 1550, the Japanese had carried on a considerable trade with the Chĕkeang province; but they were ill-treated at Ningpo, and failing to obtain redress for their grievances, fixed themselves at Tinghae in Chusan, from whence they made successful incursions along the whole opposite coast of China. To repel these cost an enormous sum to the then reigning sovereigns of the Ming dynasty. Having first taken and sacked Soo-chow, the Japanese repaired to the Yangtse-keang and reached Nanking, which however they did not take; but received a large sum of money on condition of quitting the river. Similar misfortunes were augured by the writer of the paper in the

present case; and it must be admitted that the career of the British force was a singular corroboration of his prognostics, and a most remarkable parallel to the course of the Japanese; our own success being much the most complete. Observations of the same kind were elicited from various other quarters; and the opinion gained ground that *whoever occupied the Chusan Archipelago would exercise an important influence on the destinies of China.*

Nothing, however, was done to drive us from Chusan. The only enterprise was the despatch of some spies, who gave a full account, not over veracious, of what they had seen. A long period elapsed without any instructions from Peking, and this ominous silence boded no good to the local authorities. The first indication of activity on the part of the court was an edict against traitorous natives. It was observed, "Twice the English barbarians have taken possession of Chusan. It is evident that native traitors must have acted as their guides, and to free ourselves from these robbers, we must first of all suppress treason; for how could the English, who are ignorant of our written character and

of the way to Tinghae, have reached that place, if such abandoned villains had not guided them. The prohibition of the opium traffic has led many to deeds of violence; and it were to be regretted if these very outlaws joined the barbarians. The surest way would be to punish with death all who have already served them, and to enlist the remainder, in order both to keep them from mischief, and to make use of their daring for the destruction of the enemy."

The immediate consequence of this was the seizure of an unfortunate comprador (or purveyor) belonging to our commissariat, who was kidnapped at Chusan, and sent in chains to Ningpo. He was engaged in June or July, 1840, to accompany the force to Chusan. On the capture of that place he was sent into the interior of the island to purchase bullocks for the troops. During one of these journies the country people bound him hand and foot, and delivered him over to the Chinese authorities. Mrs. Noble and her party fell into the hands of the mandarins a month or two later, and were likewise carried to Ningpo, where the man in question behaved very well, and was

extremely useful to them. In February, 1841, when Mrs. Noble, Captain Anstruther, and the other British prisoners were sent over to Chusan, in pursuance of the convention, the poor comprador remained in the hands of the mandarins, and suffered death by decapitation, with several others, by sentence of the atrocious Yukien, who, if he had arrived from Peking in time, would never have allowed the English prisoners to escape alive. It was only the difference of a few days that saved them.*

With reference to the capture of Chusan, an imperial order was received about August, 1840, for the punishment of Woo-Tajin and the general who ought to have saved the island. The former, however, was more than

* The misfortunes of the comprador were not confined to his own person. Upon his seizure, orders were immediately issued to arrest his family, and confiscate their property; and seven of his kindred, father, mother, wife, daughter, and three brothers, were forthwith committed as felons to the public prison, under the cruel Chinese law of treason. Three of these died from cruel treatment; the rest were liberated on the peace, but, with four others, were cast abroad on the world without house or home. They received an allowance from the public treasury at Hongkong until my departure from China, and it has probably been continued.

a hundred miles distant on the capture, and the latter was a decrepid old man above seventy years of age. "The Criminal Board," remarks the emperor, "has sentenced both to lose their offices, but this is not sufficient to atone for having allowed the English to take Tinghae. To continue their heavy responsibility, let them still remain in the administration of their functions." Thus many an official person is left with a rope round his neck, that he may have an additional motive to exertion. The same tribunal, having tried the cases of the officers who were actually at Chusan when it was taken, sentenced the naval commander to decapitation, and the inferiors to transportation beyond the wall; but the former escaped his sentence by dying of his wounds. The only ones who obtained credit were the two that killed themselves. There is, in fact, no other resource to a mandarin opposed to an irresistible enemy. If he is neither victorious nor slain, *manet sors tertia*, — suicide.

The court of Peking waited above a month for more favourable news from the south, hoping that Woo-Tajin would make good his

promise of exterminating the barbarians; but as no such account arrived, he was accused of having done nothing to redeem his offences, and commanded to appear at Peking. He was further accused of having rejected a foreign despatch without reporting the transaction. On reaching the capital, as a common criminal, he was sentenced to death, and perished miserably, according to some, in prison. He was the first victim to the war with England.

In the midst of these troubles, a certain minister had proposed deferring for some time the execution of the recent sanguinary laws against the smugglers and smokers of opium. The emperor was indignant at the very suggestion, and directed that those officers who did not act up to the full rigour of the statute should be punished themselves. The absorbing cares of the war, however, soon swallowed up this minor consideration. The order was nowhere carried into effect, and this, the *strongest* fulmination against opium, is remarkable as being the *last*, for in the treaty not a word was mentioned of the subject, and it has never once been revived since the war. But

at no time was the traffic deserving of the full load of infamy with which many were disposed to heap it, for at the most it only supplied the poison which the Chinese were not obliged to take. The worst effect, perhaps, was the piracy it engendered, for this has told against the honest trade. Of the war it certainly was mainly the cause.

The Chinese could not afford to throw away any thing that bore even the semblance of success, and therefore made the most of the Blonde frigate quitting the harbour of Amoy without landing troops. On attempting to land a public despatch from that ship on the 2nd July, 1840, it was not only rejected by a party of mandarins on shore, but Mr. Thom, the bearer, was shot at with an arrow, which fortunately missed him. The broadside of the frigate amply revenged the insult, killing many of the Chinese and dispersing the remainder. The following official report of the transaction is a curious production, and Mr. Thom used afterwards to exhibit a picture which he had bought, representing his *own death* by the arrow. "The local officers on the day of the occurrence perceived a bar-

barian vessel bearing a white flag (of truce), and all being quiet on board, suddenly a boat was lowered, and hastened on shore with an individual who came to ask for peace in the mandarin dialect, using however very insulting speech. Our officers prevented his coming on shore, upon which the red flag was hoisted on board the vessel, and guns discharged. At this moment a mandarin with an arrow shot the interpreter, who fell down dead in the boat, while the soldiers killed six barbarians by their fire. Another boat was then lowered from the ship, and one of the white barbarians was pierced with a spear. For six hours our troops withstood the fire from the vessel, during which nine of our people were killed and many wounded." Such was the feeling at the opening of the war. Before the sword had been drawn the maxim was, Death to the barbarians who even approach the coast.

The governor of the province expended 100,000 taels in fortifying Amoy, and then applied for additional sums to surround the whole neighbourhood with stone walls and embrasures of immense thickness. These were

the largest works erected by the Chinese during the war, and the most useless, as it eventually proved. The amount embezzled by the officers of government was, however, said to be greater than the actual outlay.

In the meanwhile the Cruizer sloop-of-war had visited Chapoo, and stood a warm fire from the batteries. This was the report of the military commander of the place: "As the harbour leads to Hâng-chow, and is of great importance, I stationed look-out vessels, and established a guard along the coast. A barbarian vessel was suddenly espied, mad enough to sail direct to the anchorage fronting the temple of the Queen of Heaven. Though we fired on her she showed no symptoms of fear, but made resistance, killing and wounding several of the Manchow and Chinese soldiers, until she finally sailed away. I am now apprehensive that this vessel may be followed by others, and as we are in a helpless condition, I have sent to Hâng-chow for assistance." In a subsequent paper he observed,—"Though our own soldiers were falling, there was no appearance of any one on board being either killed or wounded, but

we beat the vessel off. Beyond their guns, these barbarians have no resource; and to render them harmless, we have erected entrenchments composed of refuse cotton and mud, behind which our soldiers may be protected. I have now assembled 1700 men, and shall also endeavour to raise 1500 militia, which will be sufficient to maintain us against their attacks. It is at the same time very unfortunate that we are unable to encounter them on the sea." This was the most honest report ever transmitted to the Emperor throughout the war. The writer, a Manchow Tartar, named *Changhe*, died afterwards bravely at his post.

The Conway sloop of war, having entered the mouth of the Yangtse-Keang to survey, produced some consternation. A party of sailors landed at a spot which had been named Harvey island, and encountered some Chinese militia posted behind boats hauled ashore. These were soon dislodged, with a small loss on our side; but the occasion was turned into a victory by the braggart Yukien, who displayed some pieces of an old wreck as a prize captured from the English. Notwith-

standing all this, however, the people became terrified, and those who possessed property removed from Chěkeang to the adjoining province on the north, spreading the contagion of fear every where, and rendering of no avail the assurances of the government. When the unfortunate little vessel Kite got ashore on a sand-bank, it was a grand prize for the Chinese. The capture of a few shipwrecked seamen and a helpless female was an exploit which occasioned the promotion of several officers, some of whom received the decoration of peacock's feathers, with a special imperial edict, arousing the latent prowess of the forces.

The emperor naturally looked to the commissioner Lin at Canton as the champion of a struggle to which he had himself given rise. But neither that functionary nor admiral Kwan at the Bogue forts had the resolution to attempt a blow. The utter and well-timed defeat, by Captain Smith, R.N., of the troops at the Macao barrier was suppressed, nor is there a single allusion to it in any of the captured papers. The Chinese troops now became disheartened, and their pay being in arrear, they

gradually dispersed. The expenditure had been great, but Lin still professed confidence. Admiral Kwan in vain implored his sovereign to let him retire and nurse his infirmities at home. The old man was kept at his post, to fall soon afterwards at the capture of the batteries.

The emperor was encouraged at the outset to view the British as mere rebels, and to compare the capture of Chusan to the exploits of former pirates. But the expedition of our Plenipotentiary in August, 1840, to the mouth of the Peking river, brought the matter home to his own doors, and he was at length reluctantly obliged to face a question from which he had hitherto shrunk with the greatest horror. At that time, the person who swayed the emperor's councils at Peking was Keshen, a very remarkable character. By birth a Manchow Tartar, he had been brought up at the court, and possessing by nature a handsome exterior*, and the most insinuating

* "*Kishen*, quoique âgé d'une soixantaine d'années, nous parut plein de force et de vigueur. Sa figure est, sans contredit, la plus noble, la plus gracieuse, et la plus spirituelle que nous ayons jamais rencontrée parmi les Chinois."—*M. Huc, Souvenirs d'un Voyage, &c.*

manners joined to great talents, his fortune was made from the very first. He distinguished himself in letters, passed through the various grades, and attained to important employ near the emperor's person. When sent into the provinces, he proved his devotion to the court and his employer especially, and became, as early as 1831, governor of Pechele, the province of the capital. Being somewhat in advance of his countrymen, he joined, what in China at least may be styled, the *hazardous* love of improvements to his other accomplishments; and, accordingly, while his suavity made him many friends, and his power many flatterers, his interference with every branch of administration created him some enemies. But, as long as he had the personal friendship of the emperor, he could afford to despise them all.

Like the celebrated favourite of an English despot, his covetousness was as grasping as his ambition; and, in a comparatively short period of years, he amassed an almost fabulous amount of wealth, which in the end served only as a weight to sink him. Peculation, bribes, confiscations, exorbitant interest on capital, and

enormous speculations in the government monopoly of salt, all helped to fill his coffers, and to make him the richest subject of China.

The freight, however, which in the end contributed to sink his vessel, served for some time to steady it, and, with his native sagacity, gave a prudence and moderation to his views and policy regarding the quarrel with England, which contrasted strongly with the frantic delirations of Commissioner Lin. As the latter brought the war upon his country, so Keshen would probably have averted it, had his counsel been followed as to opium. In a paper which he, among many others, presented on the subject, he was against all violent measures towards natives or foreigners; a strict guard along the coast, the exertion of local authorities to prevent the importation and use of the drug, and the execution of the penal laws, appeared to him sufficient. He remained, however, on this point in the minority of the council, and, when he heard of Lin's proceedings in the south, predicted the consequences.

It was to this, probably, and to the personal confidence of the emperor, that, when the British squadron appeared at the mouth of the

Peiho, he owed the appointment of negotiator, to himself so disastrous in its results. If conciliation was required, the choice could not have fallen on a fitter person. His great tact, his imperturbable suavity, and perfect command of temper, were extraordinary. He could exchange fair phrases, protract discussions, and make promises innumerable, without keeping one; and though the catastrophe of war became inevitable, he certainly postponed it much longer than could have been expected. He pledged himself to remove the unwelcome presence of the British squadron from the neighbourhood of Peking, and to transfer negotiations to a quarter where he was sure they would come to nothing; in fact, to weary out his opponents by delay, and make them accept any terms that the emperor might dictate. His design, after he had ascertained the serious nature of the impending collision, to stave it off by conciliation and compromise, was misinterpreted by his enemies of the war party, who denounced him as a traitor.

It would appear that Keshen never made very correct reports of his intentions in nego-

tiation, nor of the public despatches of the British minister. It might have been treason to repeat the language of the last in an ungarbled translation. Instead, therefore, of a letter from the Foreign Office, the negotiators themselves were made to say, "We have received orders from our government to complain to your honourable nation of the injuries suffered by our representative and the English merchants at the hands of the great officers of Canton. Our naval and military force being large, we have had to find a place for sheltering our ships and quartering our troops. The high officers of the provinces not only shut up the ports, but refused to forward our representations to the court. Hence we have been obliged to occupy Chusan. Commissioner Lin surrounded all the Europeans at Canton with his soldiers, allowed no intercourse, and deprived them of the necessaries of life until the opium on board the ships was delivered up, in default of which they were to suffer death. But some of the opium was taken even from vessels outside the port, the commissioner having forced the owners by hunger and threats of death to give up all. He then

insisted on a bond, making those on board any vessel which brought opium to China liable to the penalty of death; but the superintendent and merchants all refused to consent to this bond, upon which Lin and the governor Teng Tajin shut the ports to our commerce, at a time when the debts of the Hong merchants to our people amounted to several millions." This was prepared by Keshen from the substance of the conversations which passed at the interviews.

The reply received by the Chinese minister from the emperor was to this effect. "We appointed Lin and Teng to manage the subject of opium at Canton; but after the lapse of two years, instead of annihilating the traffic, they have caused the barbarians to repair to the vicinity of the capital. What state of things is this? The said officers have injured the state and nation, and mismanaged their affairs. The proper board has adjudged them worthy of degradation, and they must appear and answer an investigation at Canton."

The reply returned by Keshen to the demands of our negotiators at the Peiho was altogether characteristic. Not a single ad-

mission was made, but they were loaded with compliments; all adjustment was artfully avoided, and a vague promise held out, that after due investigation at Canton, some indemnification on account of the opium might be awarded. This was considered sufficient to authorise our squadron sailing down in October towards Canton, where experience had shown so little could be effected by negotiation. Keshen, however, achieved the grand object of the court in removing the troubles to the furthest point from Peking; and his report of his success to the emperor was honoured by some remarks of the "vermillion pencil" in a highly laudatory strain. It was, perhaps, the elation of this almost unexpected success that induced the (generally) prudent and foreseeing Keshen to undertake a mission which he soon found beset with so many difficulties and dangers to himself.

The instructions of the emperor to his minister were couched in the following terms: "The English barbarians complain that the degraded officers Lin and Teng did not adhere to their original assurances, and hence the present troubles. As their language is re-

spectful and yielding, Keshen is appointed acting governor of Kuâng-tung, carefully to search into these matters. If the barbarians will repent, become humble and submissive, they may still obtain a share of the tender favour of our celestial dynasty towards strangers. Let nothing be done with precipitation; but Keshen is to manage this affair faithfully, and realise my intentions. Respect this."

In the meanwhile, orders were addressed in general terms to the authorities along the coast to abstain from provoking hostilities by firing on British vessels pending the issue of Keshen's negotiations. Keshen, however, took measures for fortifying the river approach to the capital, which the unexpected arrival of our squadron had found altogether unprepared. Large drafts were made upon the treasury; but the works erected were quite Chinese, and the expenditure very ill-bestowed. It was a joyful day for the imperial commissioner when our squadron set sail: on the principle of building a bridge for a retiring enemy, provisions were supplied with a liberal hand, and all vied in expediting the departure.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST OPERATIONS AT CANTON TO CONVENTION, AND DISGRACE OF KESHIN.—HISTORY OF ELEPOO.

It was unfortunate for the new Chinese diplomatist that a man of such opposite opinions and principles as the late Commissioner Lin should have been directed to remain at Canton during the intended negotiations. The disgraced commissioner had a natural interest in finding fault with a course of proceeding so different from his own, and his party at Peking were always ready to misrepresent the conduct and intentions of the pacific and moderate Keshen. It may here be remarked, that, throughout the war and subsequent pacification, the implacable hostility, the obstinate persistence, and unwillingness to yield a single point, were, with only a few exceptions, displayed by the mandarins of *Chinese* extraction; while the moderate advice, and ultimately the peace itself, were

the work of Manchow *Tartars*. Lin, the Chinese, and Keshen, the Tartar, were the types of their respective parties.

The people of Canton, always taught to hate and despise foreigners, had been wrought to a pitch by the proceedings and encouragement of their favourite Lin, from which they have never yet recovered, despite of some sharp lessons from us. The evil was aggravated by the old literati of China, whose business, instead of enlightening their countrymen, seems to be that of keeping them in a Cimmerian darkness, in which the dim and dubious glimmering of the lamp of Confucius is deemed more than sufficient for all purposes. Keshen, of course, found it necessary to be on terms with Lin, who, though degraded, retained considerable influence with his own party, and over the Canton populace. From the first arrival of the new negotiator, as soon as it was known that he was the advocate of pacific measures, the general feeling was against him. There was a besotted notion that the new invasion, or "rebellion," as it was called, might easily be subdued, and a rash desire to try the issue of arms with the

"barbarians." Lin was looked upon as the champion of the ancient régime of haughty exclusiveness and uncompromising pride, and therefore popular in proportion. He consoled himself in his disgrace, not with assisting Keshen through his difficulties, but training some hundreds of ragamuffin volunteers, utterly unfit for any thing except plundering their own countrymen.

The sole object of Keshen, whose sagacity led him to form a juster estimate of the relative strength of the two nations, was to protract discussions to the utmost, and to gain time at least, with the hope that some unforeseen turn of fortune might favour him. As a last concession, he hoped to grant a mere reopening of trade, and some indemnity for the opium, payable in instalments by the Hong merchants from a tax levied on the foreign trade.

These pacific intentions, and this splendid liberality, were at length rudely frustrated by a collision, which proved that promises and compliments might delay, but could not avert, the inevitable catastrophe. In the very midst of the negotiations, the provoking discovery

was made, on the 6th January, 1841, of an edict consigning to destruction all British ships and subjects wherever they might be found. On the very next day this perfidy was fitly rewarded by the destruction of the forts at Chuenpee and Tykoktow; the Chinese losing several hundred men, and 173 guns spiked or otherwise disabled.

The Bogue forts would have shared the same fate, but Admiral Kwan asked for an armistice, which was unfortunately granted. In his report, Keshen says: "The admiral confesses he has deserved severe punishment. He yields to necessity, and has agreed to a truce with the barbarians merely to gain time and be in a state to resist them." He added, "It appears to your majesty's slave that we are very deficient in means, and have not the shells and rockets used by the barbarians. We must, therefore, adopt other methods to stop them, which will be easy, as they have *opened negotiations*. I forward the draft of my letter to them, written by the admiral's suggestion, and have to request my own punishment for not averting this evil."

The consternation at Peking on the capture

of Chuenpee was great, and no less than three documents emanated from the emperor on the same day. In the second, "Keshen," he observes, "entrusted as he is with such important affairs, in the face of the haughty and outrageous conduct of the barbarians, has done nothing to resist them. The real views of those enemies are now known; to treat with them reasonably is out of the question. Let them be visited with the national wrath. For this purpose we have directed the troops of various provinces to advance to Canton and maintain themselves in that city. Keshen and the Admiral Kwan are to be severely punished." A third paper showed the exasperation of the emperor's mind. "They have attacked, wounded, and killed our officers and soldiers at Chuenpee. To manifest the visitation of heaven, and set a just value on the lives of the people, we will sweep the barbarians from the face of the earth. For this purpose the army will retake Tinghae; and Keshen is directed to arouse the patriotism of the nation, sending the heads of the rebellious barbarians to Peking in baskets." The declaration of the emperor's brother was widely circulated, that

he should never conclude peace with such despicable enemies. Keshen was perfectly aware of all these circumstances at the moment when he concluded a convention with Captain Elliot, by which Hongkong was ceded to the English, six millions of dollars agreed to be paid for the opium, and the trade opened within ten days, with a direct official intercourse on equal terms. According to this, formal possession was taken of Hongkong by our forces on the 26th January, and an order sent to restore Chusan.

Keshen thus justified to the emperor what he represented as only a temporary measure of necessity:—"The English barbarians have already despatched a person to restore Chusan, and have given back the Chuenpee forts as well as the war junks which they had taken. Without waiting for orders, your slave has foolishly dared to solicit favours for the English, who are under an engagement to withdraw all their ships. Though I did this to save the people from harm, I am bound to request severe punishment for my conduct. I received your majesty's pleasure 'that the English could not be treated with reason, and

therefore hostilities must be commenced against them, in conjunction with the officers Lin and Teng, as soon as the reinforcement of four thousand men from the provinces arrives.' Your slave read these orders kneeling, and accordingly deferred opening the port, though he had promised the English to do this on a certain day. They have, in the meanwhile, sent an order to restore Chusan to Eleepoo, and shown themselves very complying. But I have not altogether committed myself, having engaged only to solicit favours for them. I bear them many a grudge for the difficulties with which they have surrounded me, and only abide my time for exterminating them *whenever it can be done.* Having, however, examined the Bogue forts, sounded the river, and investigated all the approaches to the city, I and the other officers are of opinion that Canton is not capable of defence. The reinforcement is still far off, and hence the necessity for a temporary arrangement."

In another memorial, the minister describes the "barbarians as so untameable, that they could not be *restrained by their officers* from

taking the Chuenpee forts. Since that, however, they had shown repentance and fear, and were sending away their vessels of war. The only celestial favour they now asked was to be allowed to trade, as the whole nation had, in consequence of the stoppage of trade, been cut off from all means of gaining a livelihood." The paper contains other absurdities of a like kind.

Keshen at the same time forwarded a report of those who were killed at Chuenpee, and interceded in favour of their surviving relations. This was acceded to, as the emperor wished to show his sense of those who died at their post. One mandarin in writing to another expressed a very unfavourable opinion of the conference held by Keshen with Captain Elliot. According to him, "the barbarians are grasping and insatiable, and the condescension of the minister was highly criminal." The same views were entertained by the people of Canton, who have through every event since 1839 remained incorrigible in their real hatred and affected contempt for Europeans. With all the risk to their city in a protraction of the war, that vicious rabble

actually called for further strife, and Keshen's overtures excited general indignation.

Unhappily for that functionary, every successive despatch from Peking conveyed still stronger expressions of the emperor's wrath at the late convention. In one, Taoukwang observed, "The English becoming daily more extravagant, I desired Keshen to be vigilant and take every opportunity of attacking them; but he has allowed himself to be cajoled by the barbarians, without even consulting his colleagues. To give the English Hongkong as a place to store up arms and build fortresses, and to allow them to continue trading at Canton, is beyond the bounds of reason. Why did he permit them to take open possession of the island? Is not every inch of ground and every individual subject the property of the state? And yet he dares to ask such favours for the English rebels, and, moreover, descants on the wretched condition of Canton, to induce us to agree to the proposal. How great is the presumption and shamelessness of Keshen! Let him be degraded and placed in chains, and brought to

the capital under convoy, and let his property be instantly confiscated. Respect this."

This was no empty threat, for on the same day commissioners were sent to the residence of Keshen, and, according to an official report, seized and delivered into the hands of the imperial treasurer 682 Chinese pounds' weight of gold, 17,940,000 taels in silver, and eleven boxes of jewels. On a second search, by Muhchangah, the prime minister, additional effects were confiscated—1438 large ingots of Sycee silver, value about 60 dollars each, 46,920 taels in broken silver, 2,561,217 *mows* in land*, besides houses, shares in pawnbroking establishments (the ancient mode of banking in Europe), and transactions in the salt monopoly. His fortune was at first rated at an amount equal to eight millions sterling, but exceeded it. Yet, without a trial, the whole vanished at the mere dictum of his despotic master. When he reached Peking as a common felon, with a chain round his neck, he could hardly obtain 100 copper coins to feed him in prison. His wives and

* A mow is about the fifth of an acre.

women were sold by auction to the highest bidders.

Soon after there appeared a furious diatribe from the emperor concerning Chusan, where he declared the English had abused the women, plundered goods, erected fortifications, dug canals, and directed a pretended mandarin to levy taxes. "After their outrages at the Bogue," he adds, "there remains nothing but to exterminate them. As gods and men are equally indignant at such detestable beings, their destruction will soon be accomplished." Only a few days before the arrival of this, the unfortunate Keshen had again ventured to recommend the convention published on the 20th January. The emperor sent it back, with these observations on the margin: "Keshen has received bribes from the barbarians. He is worthy of death, and let him be condemned accordingly." Peace was a proscribed word, and any officer of government alluding to it was liable to severe punishment. Taoukwang declared that such a nation as the English should not exist on earth, and there were plenty who re-echoed the sentiment.

A resumption of hostilities at Canton of

course became inevitable. Chusan was unfortunately evacuated on the 24th of February, the day after the armistice had been broken to the south. When news reached Canton that the Bogue was to be attacked, the populace, whose infatuation could only be compared to that of the Jews as described by Josephus, displayed the greatest joy. The alacrity with which the preparations were made showed their deep hatred of the foreigners, and their certain anticipation of success. Keshen, who had not then left Canton, made immense efforts to put every thing in a state of defence, and literally whitened the declivity of the hills with tents. On the eve of the engagement five thousand dollars were sent to Admiral Kwan for distribution among the Chinese troops, and this was accompanied by an exhortation to do their duty.

In the proclamation to the people of Canton, they were assured that all the approaches to the city were well guarded, and at the same time advised to pursue their usual avocations. We may well suppose that, notwithstanding this, Keshen and the Chinese admiral had their misgivings as to the result; but so com-

plete was the expectation of the Canton populace that numbers would prevail, so perfect their anticipations of success, that a certain painter represented the British ships as actually disabled and captured by his victorious countrymen.

On the 26th of February, Sir Gordon Bremer laid his squadron of three line-of-battle ships, with frigates and steamers, alongside the Bogue batteries; and in a short time these defences were a heap of ruins deserted by their garrisons. Admiral Kwan died devotedly at his post, receiving the bayonet of a marine in the breast. When the body was taken away on the following day by his relations, minute guns were fired from the Blenheim, in honour of the bravery of the old man, who called himself a descendant of the Chinese Mars.

The consternation at Peking, on the news of this additional disaster, may easily be conceived. The emperor instantly sent to Tartary, ordering 5000 troops of the Eight Banners, the last resource of the Manchows. These never reached Canton; but we hear of them in a curious work lately published in France, by a Lazarist missionary, M. Huc, who

had the account from a Tartar whom he met near the great wall. The levies were, in fact, retained at Tientsin as a safeguard, in the event of our forces attempting Peking.

"Le *Tchakar* (says M. Huc*) est divisé en huit bannières—en Chinois *Pa-ki*, qu'on distingue par le nom de huit couleurs. Nous lui demandâmes quel grade militaire il occupait dans la bannière bleue.—Quand les bannières du Tchakar ont marché, il y a deux ans, contre les rebelles du midi (the English) j'avais le grade de *Tchouanda*. Au commencement, on pensait que c'était peu de chose; chacun disait qu'on ne toucherait pas au Tchakar. Les milices des Kitat (Chinese) sont parties les premières, mais elles n'ont rien fait; les bannières des Solon ont aussi marché, mais elles n'ont pu resister aux chaleurs du midi; alors l'Empereur nous envoya sa sainte ordonnance. Le jour même nous marchâmes sur Péking: de Péking on nous conduisit à *Tientsin*, où nous sommes restés trois mois.—Vous êtes-vous battus? avez vous vu l'ennemi?—Non, il n'a pas osé paraître. Les *Kitat* nous

* Tom. I. p. 52.

répétaient partout que nous marchions à une mort certaine et inutile. — Que ferez-vous, disaient-ils, contre ces monstres marins ?—Ils vivent dans l'eau, comme des poissons : quand on s'y attend le moins, ils paraissent à la surface, et lancent de *Si-koua** enflammés. Aussitôt qu'on bande l'arc pour leur envoyer des flèches, ils se replongent dans l'eau comme des grenouilles. Ils cherchaient ainsi à nous effrayer ; mais nous autres soldats des huit bannières, nous n'avons pas peur. Les rebelles, ayant appris que les invincibles milices du Tchakar approchaient, ont été effrayés, et ont demandé la paix. Le *Saint-maitre* (*Shing-chu*, or emperor) dans son immense misericorde la leur a accordée, et alors nous sommes revenus dans nos prairies veiller à la garde de nos troupeaux."

The crowds, which had assembled on the heights to see the expected destruction of the British force, rushed back and spread the contagion of fear at Canton, where the depression was proportionate to the previous confidence. All order for the time was at an end, and

* So they call our shells — "Water-melons."

multitudes were quitting the city with their property. The people had lost confidence in their rulers, whose boasting promises were reduced to their real worth; and to this day the whole province has gradually been proceeding from indiscipline to an open rebellion, which now threatens the government.

The redoubtable Lin had vanished. His volunteer corps did nothing to retrieve matters, but dispersed like a mist. However deficient as regarded himself, Lin still found reasons for condemning Keshen, who, in delaying the catastrophe, had, in fact, done more than any of them. Still this unfortunate minister was vituperated as an abandoned traitor, who had dared to hold intercourse with barbarians.

Keshen was the scape-goat on whom were laid the sins and failings of all. Papers reached the emperor from every quarter, expressive of disdain and detestation of the unlucky negotiator. It was a claim to patriotism to heap him with reproaches, and those who could do nothing themselves, could at least abuse Keshen. For delaying some time to plunge his country into a disastrous

war, and for making some concessions out of necessity to the English, he was a proscribed traitor. The cry for war resounded from the government officers on all sides, notwithstanding the late defeats. Except at Canton, however, the people remained indifferent, or trembled for their property and persons where these seemed to be exposed.

A list of thirteen charges against Keshen, with his defence, is a curious specimen of Chinese notions of public duty.

1. Why did you not attack the English at once?—I at first desired to control them by reason, and did not entertain a suspicion that the barbarians, with brutal impetuosity, would attack the Chuenpee forts.
2. Why did you not consult the Lieutenant-Governor, and the rest, before those forts were taken?—The barbarian affairs were of the most secret nature, and did not admit of public discussion.
3. Why did you dismiss the water militia, and send to the Bogue such a scanty number of men as to occasion the death of Admiral Kwan?—I did not dismiss

the militia; they were actually engaged, and I increased the force at the batteries to above 400 guns and 8900 men.

4. You had an interview and an entertainment with the foreign chief, and none was admitted but a comprador to interpret.—I conversed with him respecting the details of trade, smuggling, and regulations against opium; and, as he had not dined, I gave him a repast. Our conversation was not private, for several civil and military officers were present. The second interview was accidental, as I went to the Bogue to arrange their defences with the admiral, and not for holding a conference with the foreign chief. But he came up and insisted on having the grant of Hongkong authenticated; being also engaged in other traitorous designs, to which I did not give my assent.

5. You employed as the medium of communication a villain comprador, Paoupeng, who had before been denounced as a traitor.—I found him in Shantung, and used him as an interpreter; and, on ex-

amining the charges against him, did not discover sufficient proofs of guilt.

6. You gave to the barbarians Hongkong as a dwelling place, contrary to our law of indivisibility.—I *pretended* to do so from the mere force of circumstances, and to put them off for a time, but had no such serious intention.
7. You first dissuaded the emperor from making that grant, and subsequently agreed to it.—I did so at first from an apprehension that the English would erect forts, and pretended to agree to it subsequently, being driven to the utmost straits.
8. You received orders for the destruction of the English, but yet delayed it.—The barbarians were at first respectfully obedient, but grew extravagant afterwards; and in my ignorance I would not venture upon this measure previous to the assemblage of the great army.
9. You nevertheless received communications from the barbarians.—I did so, in order to delay them, and avert their hostilities.
10. You dared to propose Amoy, the key to

Fokien province, as an emporium, thereby prejudicing Canton.—In my stupidity I thought that, as other nations had access there, the English might have the same privilege; not to remain there, but merely for commercial purposes.

11. You allowed the vessel, which conveyed the order to give up Chusan, to buy provisions on her way.—I did so in order to avoid delay in attaining this important object.

12. Why did you represent the military preparations at Canton as in a bad condition, thereby disheartening the soldiers?—I gave a true account of the existing state of things, not to inspire fear, but to be faithful to the emperor.

13. Why did you, after the capture of the Chuenpee forts, again negotiate?—To avert the further outrages of the barbarians; but it was a mere feint, and never seriously intended.

The court which sat upon him declared Keshen to be the worst of traitors, and worthy of instant death; but this sentence was finally

changed to waiting in prison for execution. He lingered there for several months, under daily apprehension of capital punishment. But the final issue of the Canton affairs, the capture of Amoy, the re-occupation of Chusan, and the taking of Ningpo, proved that Keshen was not the only one who failed. He was, therefore, allowed at the close of 1841 to go, without authority or rank, to try his luck, and cajole the barbarians with fine words. On his approach, however, the governor of Chěkeang province declared that such a traitor should never enter his city, and forced him to retrace his steps. He lived at Peking for some time unemployed, but unmolested, when the emperor's regard for his old favourite returned, and he was appointed his personal attendant. In this capacity he remained until the peace of Nanking, when it became clear that Keshen, after all, had made the most advantageous treaty. To rid him of his numerous personal enemies, he was sent as resident to Thibet, where we have had a very particular account of him from M. Huc, in his two volumes of travels in Central Asia. He is said to have amassed considerable wealth

since his disgrace, and is now governor of the large province of Szechuen.

Another Tartar statesman is now coming on the scene, remarkable as having been perhaps the main promoter of the peace with Great Britain. A Manchow by birth, Eleepoo possessed the un-Chinese quality of straightforwardness and honesty of purpose. At an early period he was introduced into the College of Interpreters at Peking, and, though his advancement was slow, he was finally nominated, at a mature age, governor of Yun-nân province in the south-west, where his conduct gave great satisfaction. The neighbourhood of the Burmese Empire might, perhaps, have enlightened his mind as to the real power and resources of England; and having learned some particulars of the humiliation of the once imperious "Golden-footed" monarch, he might have appreciated the perils that awaited his own sovereign, the "Son of Heaven."

The administration of Yun-nân procured Eleepoo a seat in the emperor's cabinet as "assistant" minister, and he thus became governor-general of the two Keang provinces, the highest appointment at a distance from

the court. But he was now already aged and sickly, devoid of the vigour required for effective service, though unchanged in his sterling qualities of mind. During our first occupation of Chusan, it was extraordinary that he should have been directed to proceed to the fortified position of Chinhae, the nearest to Chusan. It was, perhaps, the result of the trust reposed in him by the emperor, and a latent hope that something might yet be done by negotiation.

As an early adviser of the sovereign, he had endeavoured to dissuade him from risking a foreign quarrel, in making the English a party to the question of restricting the consumption of opium among his own subjects. When this was of no avail, Eleepoo counselled that something should be done to prevent an open rupture. When the rupture took place, he still advised conciliation, and was the most decided advocate for the measures to promote it. But not a single politician sided with him; and still the old man, notwithstanding the general denunciation of all pacific principles, never relinquished his opinion. As guardian of the coast, he had to perform his duties,

and when called upon to assume a hostile position, he did so, however opposite it might be to his own views.

Joined to him in his mission was a very different character, Yupooyun, who had gained credit in a war with the Meaoutsze, had been employed against the tribes of Toorkistan, and gained the title of a guardian of the imperial heir, and commander of the nine gates of Peking. He looked upon the war as so deeply compromising the dignity of the empire, that all accommodation was to be disdained. Because the "Algerine" brig had silenced, but not destroyed, a Chinese battery, he presumed upon the prowess of his countrymen, and could not imagine how people who had lived so long on board ship could possibly fight on shore. His maxim was, "extermination to these intruders." They must be taught to tremble at the majesty of the Celestial Empire, and reverence the dignity of the great emperor. With all this patriotism, his fate was even more disastrous than that of others of the warlike party, and he fell at last by the hand of the executioner.

One of the first measures adopted by the government for the protection of the coast

was an embargo on all its vessels at every port, and a complete cessation of trade by sea; but the result proved the fallacy of this scheme. It was fondly supposed that, as the English had come from a great distance by water, they must be in want of the necessaries of life. As far as it was possible to carry out the prohibition, every emporium on the coast was closed, junks being allowed to come in with cargoes, but none to issue out again. This expedient suited the temper of Eleepoo, and when he had commenced the plan at Shanghae it was soon extended southward to Ningpo and the other ports, until the junk trade had nearly ceased. But this weapon, while it failed altogether to annoy the invaders, soon recoiled with telling effect upon the Chinese government. When the calls for customs' duties were made as usual, there was a terrible defalcation. The merchants justly pleaded that nothing could come of nothing, and the Peking cabinet was obliged to yield to their prayer to re-open the ports.

Arrived at Chinhae, the entrance of the Ningpo river, Eleepoo's first care was to make himself acquainted with the real parti-

culars of the loss of Chusan. He presented a fuller and more true report of that event than any of his predecessors. Instead of inveighing against the surviving mandarins, he adroitly threw the blame on the late admiral, who had died of his wounds, and was therefore out of the reach of punishment. In the meanwhile it became a question of serious discussion how to meet the English on the sea, and a minister remarked that they could construct vessels as large as those of the barbarians. Orders were accordingly sent down to Eleepoo to build three line-of-battle ships in imitation of the English. The minister, who now for the first time beheld the sea from his new abode at Chinhae, knew even less of naval architecture than our "Civil first lord." The emperor's order, however, must be obeyed, and, the inspector of the district being summoned to a conference, a peremptory injunction was laid upon him to set the specified number of ships afloat by a given time. The inspector on his part had never beheld a British ship; and though the Melville was then lying in Chusan harbour under repair, it was difficult to obtain her model, and still

more difficult to build a ship like her. After much tribulation, and the vain exercise of his wits to compass impossibilities, the unhappy man had recourse to the usual Chinese remedy — suicide. Being a distant relation of the imperial family, the enemies of Eleepoo charged him with being accessary to the inspector's death, and laid an accusation against him of unnecessary rigour and cruelty. Eleepoo stated in his defence that the deceased had been unable to make up his accounts, and added other reasons to explain his suicide. A strong party, however, combined against him, and helped to accelerate his disgrace.

To provide for the people who had fled in great numbers from Chusan, Eleepoo gave them an old temple as a dwelling, and allowed a few copper coins per diem for each individual. This, like all gratuitous eleemosynary schemes, created a pediculous swarm of idle vagabonds, to get rid of whom the mandarins employed them as kidnappers to waylay and murder, or carry off our people at Chusan. The iniquitous system was only put an end to at last, by Sir Henry Pottinger ordering these villains to be hung up on the nearest

tree whenever they were caught *flagrante delicto*.

It became a primary object to cast guns for the prosecution of the war; and, if we may believe our experience of the Chinese batteries, their strength was supposed to consist in the mere number which they displayed, without much regard to anything else. Large quantities of iron were in demand; but when every source had been ransacked the supply was inadequate. How to manufacture all the pieces required became a serious question. In this dilemma, Eleepoo ascertained that the mint at Hângchow, which had always a large supply of Japan copper on hand*, might help to furnish the means; but the work had to be delayed until some artizans arrived from Fokien province. A large foundry was established at Chinhae, opposite to Chusan, and immensely heavy pieces were cast. These, however, on being tried with even the weak powder of the Chinese, burst and killed several of the operators. Being subsequently recast in a somewhat better manner, they were captured by us during the war, and the metal

* From the neighbouring port, Chapoo.

proved to be of a very considerable amount in value.

Surrounded on all sides with difficulties, Eleepoo's natural disposition for peace was influenced by every possible motive; but the urgent commands from Peking drove him to exertion. Multitudes of strong-bodied idle men were ready to enlist for a monthly supply of rice and a pittance in money. About ten thousand such recruits were mustered within a month, but numbers absconded as soon as they had received an advance of pay, or when money became scarce, and the mandarins lessened the rations by embezzlement. In this manner the cowardly system of kidnapping took place entirely of any military measures against our position at Chusan, and its worst consequences to us resulted from the capture of a native comprador, or purveyor, who had been very active in procuring provisions for the army. He was subsequently decapitated, and his head exposed at Chinhae. This apparently trivial capture had the most disastrous effects on the supplies to the force at Chusan in 1840. The natives, seeing the consequences to themselves, abandoned us altogether; and

from this moment starvation, or at least bad food and disease, invaded the camp and swept away hundreds. This became the more remarkable afterwards from the healthy and fine condition of the 98th and other regiments during the long occupation of Chusan from 1842 to 1846, when it was evacuated by myself according to treaty.

Although it had been a distinct understanding in August 1840, at the mouth of the Peiho, that, pending negotiations, hostilities should cease on both sides, it seemed as if the Chinese were willing to think that *kidnapping* did not come within the category. When the shipwreck of the Kite occurred, the mandarins in the neighbourhood claimed the credit of having enticed the vessel on the sands. A formal report of the pretended exploit was drawn up and presented to the throne, and called forth praises and rewards from the emperor: yet the whole prize was a widowed woman and a few mariners escaped from a watery grave. The court was wonderfully elated at this event, which contributed not a little to raise their hopes of complete success. Eleepoo, on the other hand, thought

that the release of the captives might tend to conciliate the English, and disincline them to further hostilities. Throughout their dreary and wretched captivity he treated them with kindness, regardless of the danger to himself. Had their restoration at Chusan been delayed a day or two longer (when he was relieved in his office by the atrocious Yukien), nothing could have saved the whole number from a cruel death.

In the report of his proceedings, which Eleepoo forwarded to the emperor, he said, "I have directed the local officers to provide guns and hire merchant vessels, with the view of attacking the barbarians. Though the army of Chĕkeang is assembled, there is yet much to be done to avert danger. Many of the English ships of war remain at Chusan, and others sail about the entrance of Chinhae. I would gladly have made a demonstration, but my disposable force amounts to only 2000 men; I must, therefore, wait my opportunity to fall on the enemy unawares and attack them with the land and sea forces. Your slave* hopes soon to assemble 5000 men.

* Tartars always style themselves thus to the Emperor.

When the governors Lin and Teng, in Canton and Fokein, have constructed their large vessels, and come to our aid with a powerful navy, we may succeed; otherwise, it would be better not to attempt it."

Throughout the war, or at least the earlier part of it, nothing is more remarkable than the inadequacy of the numerical means to resist us, almost as absurd as Mrs. Partington's celebrated attempt to sweep the Atlantic ocean from her door with a broom. At first, this might have been explained by the contempt which prevailed of the invaders; but, with some exceptions, as at Ningpo, when they had months to prepare, the mere numbers of their forces were strangely disproportioned to all that had been believed of the military resources of the empire. Insurmountable delays arose in all undertakings from the tardiness with which the provincial treasuries furnished the means. Recourse was often had to patriotic contributions, with the prospect of official rank and emolument in return but, when the money was procured, the mandarins embezzled so much that a part only was expended in the means of defence. Hence

often the useless fortifications, the half-starved ragamuffin soldiers, the wretched matchlocks, the weak powder, the honeycombed guns, and the inefficiency in every department.

As soon as the result of the negotiation at Peiho became known, that an armistice was agreed on, Eleepoo had addressed a very urgent proclamation to the people to abstain from giving umbrage to the English, and pledged to do his utmost for the maintenance of peace. He evinced his satisfaction and good will, by sending over bullocks to Chusan for the use of our army and navy. The same had been done by Keshen in the north, and he would not be behindhand in friendly offices. His enemies, however, seized on this to injure him at Peking: not only had he assisted barbarians, but slaughtered the animal which the Budhists esteem sacred, and which they reserve only for sacrificial uses.

The kindness, however, was a very substantial one. Confidence was immediately restored to the native population at Tinghae. The town became once more peopled, and the markets well stocked. But the provisions came a day too late for our unfortunate

troops, decimated as they had been by the unwholesome commissariat stores. Never was there such a scene as the hospitals exhibited at that time; and so little had the climate to do with it, that Chusan, on the subsequent occupation, proved as healthy as the best of our colonies. At Hongkong, too, the great mortality has been principally among the military; the very prisons being healthy, while the barracks teemed with death. These glaring facts afford a reasonable ground of hope, that an improved garrison system in the army may remedy the evils.

Unfortunately for Eleepoo, another actor now appeared upon the scene, whose Chinese astuteness was more than a match for the plain old Tartar. This was Lew Tajin, called by the emperor to fill the office of Lieutenant Governor of Keang-nân. In the greatest difficulties he contrived always to keep himself out of trouble by shifting the burden to other shoulders. He managed to promote his own interest with consummate dexterity during the whole trying ordeal of the war, by which so many others incurred either death or disgrace, and ended at last by

being appointed Governor General of Fokien and Chěkeang, very much to the prejudice of British interests at the new port of Foochowfoo.

A highly characteristic report was addressed by this functionary to the emperor soon after his arrival. In this, he is far from making a direct charge against Eleepoo, but leaves the inevitable inference to be drawn from the statement.

> "Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
> Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike."

"I have made," he says, "on my way many inquiries respecting the barbarians, but could obtain little that was satisfactory. Keshen, whom I met on my journey, related the circumstances which took place at the Peiho, but about the affairs of Chusan he knew as little as myself. I have been informed that the English had become more amenable, and sent their ships down to Canton to await the result of our inquiry. The commissioner, Eleepoo, therefore, dismissed the greater portion of the military levies, and discharged the vessels which had been taken up. Not satisfied with this account, I sent my own spies

to Chusan, whence they brought me back a very different statement. The barbarians have fully settled themselves there, and even opened shops, their vessels coming and going without cessation, and batteries being in process of construction. If they really intended to abandon Chusan, why all these preparations and this diligence? I am certain it is their intention to constitute Chusan their own emporium. Tinghae, however, is situated in a very commanding position, just half-way towards the very centre of our empire; and if we allow them to nestle there, our own people along the coast will probably join them in their iniquitous enterprises. Of these suspicious circumstances, I deem it my duty to give information."

This memorial, apparently dictated by candour, though intended to discredit both Eleepoo and Keshen, had the natural effect. The views of the writer were adopted, while the incapacity of both the commissioners, and their partiality to the invaders, were taken for granted. During a whole month nothing occurred to relieve Eleepoo from his fears and responsibilities, while the emperor's orders for

retaking Chusan became more and more urgent. It then occurred to the commissioner that, as winter had set in, he might make an attempt to burn down the city of Tinghae. At other times, he thought of actually putting his forces on board junks and boats at Chinhae, and crossing over to Chusan. But numbers of the pressed mariners deserted from their vessels.

The Columbine sloop finally arrived in February, 1841, with orders for the evacuation of Chusan, an event so anxiously desired by Eleepoo, and on which his fate, in fact, depended. He had trusted in the English, and even dared to affirm that they would keep to their terms. The British prisoners at Ningpo were released (as already noticed), contrary to the orders from Peking, by which they should have been put to death, or sent to the capital to be publicly exhibited, and then put to death. The political agent despatched by Eleepoo to receive back Chusan was his own slave (or perhaps freedman), employed to manage important affairs, according to a common custom of the Manchow Tartars, who buy up talented Chinese from their parents to

transact their confidential business. The inhabitants of Tinghae, fearing the vengeance of the mandarins for having adhered to us during our occupation, left the town in crowds, and it soon became like a city of the dead; but the robbers, who never failed to pillage every place abandoned by us during the war, carried off all moveable articles.

Even the (comparatively) honest Eleepoo could not resist the temptation of deceiving the emperor, and endeavouring to gain a little credit by sending the following strange account of the re-occupation of Chusan by the Chinese troops. "Letters from Keshen, as well as from Bourchier (Commodore Sir Thomas), informed me that Chusan was to be restored. I accordingly gave up the English prisoners, and sent officers to take back the island. Having appointed three generals, they proceeded with 3000 men in three divisions, on board 130 boats, to Tinghae. To be prepared against any traitorous designs, I moreover expended 10,000 taels in providing combustibles to burn the barbarian fleet, should any attempt be made to retake the island, and engaged a strong body of militia to fall upon

them in case of need, while I myself kept a good guard at Chinhae.

"When our force approached Chusan, the barbarians, of whom one-half had already gone on board their ships, left Tinghae in great confusion, and we then burnt their hovels down. I now gave strict orders to fortify Chusan on all points, lest the barbarians might return and take it by surprise, but must leave the execution to my successor. The troops previously destined to the subjugation of the island, some of whom have arrived, may now be employed at Canton to give greater effect to our transactions in that quarter."

It is clear that the idea intended to be conveyed by this document, was that of our having been *compelled* to quit Chusan, and Eleepoo still cherished the hope that by the repossession of the island the imperial wrath against himself might be averted. To these flattering expectations the emperor's reply put a speedy end. He had said too much, or done too little. It was remarked that "Eleepoo had delayed the commencement of operations while negotiations were going forward at Canton. As the 'barbarian eye' showed himself unmanageable, Eleepoo had been long ago com-

manded to recover Chusan with his forces. Instead of obeying these orders, he fabricated delays, under the plea that neither guns nor troops were in readiness. The moment, however, that he learned the English were determined on quitting the island, he sent soldiers thither. As it was now evident that the barbarians fled from the island because they had heard of the preparations made for their destruction at Canton, it became the duty of Eleepoo to exercise dire vengeance, execute the decrees of heaven by the utter destruction of the invaders, and rejoice the hearts of the nation by his vigorous proceedings. We therefore ordain that, on account of his remissness, Eleepoo be dismissed from the council, and forfeit his peacock's feather, but still retain his office as governor-general."

Another paper, which had been written under feelings of great irritation, arrived nearly at the same time. It was worded in the bitterest terms, and charged Eleepoo not only with disobedience of orders, but likewise with choosing to listen to Keshen's pacific suggestions far more than to the peremptory commands of his sovereign. Yukien, the

Mongol, at that time the most inveterate enemy of the English, was ordered to take his place as imperial commissioner, while the old man's past conduct was handed over to a court of inquiry. Had Yukien arrived only a few days earlier, our prisoners at Ningpo would have met, at the hands of that cruel monster, the same fate that Capt. Stead subsequently experienced. The instructions to this *furibond* were absolute. He was enjoined without a moment's delay to exterminate the whole race of hateful foreigners. In the sequel, Yukien fell a miserable victim to his insensate rancour, while Eleepoo lived and was restored to negotiate the peace at Nanking.

With a sore heart Eleepoo went back to his government in Keang-nân. At Shanghae he heard that the Bogue forts were taken. Much against his opinion and wish he had to proclaim an edict breathing endless hostility. Suddenly there appeared an order for him to repair to Peking, there to answer with Keshen for not having exterminated the English. He himself, and all his adherents and employés, had to kneel for three days at the palace gate (rather a protracted levée) before they could

obtain a hearing, and then the sentence of their condemnation was pronounced. The old Eleepoo, a hoary head of seventy-five, who had been for many years governor of several provinces, was to be sent as a common convict to the River Amoor, on the frontiers of Siberia, where they either track boats, or are given as slaves to the hunters of fur animals. Such was to be the reward of his public services; and if he escaped this fate, it was solely owing to the uninterrupted success of the British forces, which demonstrated the value of his earliest advice, and led to the adoption of it in the end. His second appearance on the stage was far more remarkable than the first.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF CHINA, OF THE ARMY, AND OF OPINIONS AS TO THE WAR.

THE treaty which Keshen had signed, and which was repudiated by the emperor, certainly contained the most favourable terms that China had any right to expect under the circumstances. The lapse of a year proved that it should have been eagerly accepted, and that its rejection was an act of fatuity which could only be explained by the gross ignorance then prevailing at Peking as to the real state of affairs in the south. It was, indeed, no easy matter to disabuse the emperor's mind of those delusions respecting European powers, which are common to every Chinese who has never quitted his country. The distance, the presumed insignificance, in comparison with China, of the nation which they had now to encounter, created a feeling of contemptuous security, which nothing but an uninterrupted course of defeats, in nearly twenty general

actions, was able to set right. The few, with Keshen at their head, who had the intelligence to see things in a true light before it was too late, and to act or advise accordingly, were treated as traitors. The majority of the emperor's servants were of course ready to flatter his presumption and lull his fears; and we have a number of curious papers on the subject from several statesmen, whose conclusions were perfectly correct, if they had been only right in the proposition with which they set out, — that China was overwhelmingly superior in military power to the invader. If there were any who entertained opinions nearer to the truth, the fate of Keshen and others were warnings to them to be silent; for any representation of the kind would at that time have brought down certain punishment on its authors.

As long ago as the embassy of Lord Amherst in 1816, enough had been seen of the Chinese military to form a tolerably correct opinion of them. These passages occur:— "We were received by an extended line of soldiers, who, in addition to their arms and accoutrements, each carried a lantern tied to

his spear or matchlock. This military feature, however, was less amusing than certain watch-towers formed entirely of mats, and painted so as to represent brick or stone. This was so completely 'playing at soldiers,' as to afford an unequivocal proof of the unwarlike habits of the nation." "I was attracted, by the appearance of several small tents, to land and examine them. Each contained two or three soldiers dressed in the usual colours, blue bound with red. On desiring to look at their swords, they pulled them with some difficulty out of their sheaths, and displayed blades which were no better than hoop iron, covered with rust. The men were nothing superior to the general run of mandarin followers, in strength, stature, or bearing, but were lying about on the ground in a very slovenly state; and it was a general opinion among us, that our little guard of picked men from the marines of the frigate could have marched through Tien-tsin with great ease, and in spite of the opposition it might have met with from all the troops we saw there."*

The hard fighting displayed during the war

* Sketches of China.

was on the part of two garrisons of Manchow Tartars. The Chinese soldiery, or rather militia, had never seen a battle, and seldom stayed to see one with us. Yet the ignorant armed rabble from the interior, up to the actual encounter, were often as sure of victory as if they had been called out against a mob of their own countrymen. Their tactics are well described by Lieut. Ouchterlony of the Madras Engineers, when speaking "of their miserable deficiency in the ordinary rules of strategy, and the pertinacious folly with which they cling to the idea, that their popular system of warfare (that of fighting by demonstration, and expecting victory through the awe-inspiring influence of military pomp, instead of strength of arm and skill at the weapon) could be made to prevail against the spirit and steadiness of disciplined troops."

It was usually found, that after the first discharge of their fire-arms, all order ceased, and every individual did as he liked, abandoning his rank, and either running away or fighting single-handed, sometimes with great determination. This was occasionally the result of despair, from their ignorance of the

system of giving quarter. Of the mandarins many showed considerable coolness, and when defeat became inevitable, their resource was often suicide. Thus the best men were those who fell; while the main body dispersed, and throwing away their soldiers' jackets, were never heard of more.

Before an engagement, the soldiers generally had their pay in advance, taking advantage of this exigency to extort something more solid than a mere "promise to pay." Thus, after the slaughter at the west gate of Ningpo, just six dollars were found on the bodies of most of the slain. But, once in possession of the pay, some deserted even before the fight. These were serious defects, which the government endeavoured to remedy by circulating papers among the military, promising substantial rewards to such as would fight truly for the emperor. Every division of the army was provided with thin silver medals, or rather plates of an oblong form, which were to have been distributed among the victors, though no opportunity ever occurred. In lieu of a regular commissariat, the provincial grain inspectors used to collect rice, often with great

difficulty, leaving the men to find all the rest. This of course necessarily led to plundering the people. Little provision was made for the sick and wounded: the latter were often carried off during an engagement, but subsequently abandoned in the flight, and tended, if at all, by our own surgeons.

In regard to the *matériel* of war, and as far as mere *quantity* was concerned, the preparations were large, though inefficient. The amount of gunpowder manufactured at Canton, and stored within the city, was perilous to the defenders at least. Allusion has already been made to the number of guns cast; and a calculation of the pieces either taken or destroyed during the war amounts to 2,356. As the revenue of the emperor consists of the surplus of each province, this was ordered to be retained in the provinces which were the theatres of war, and the money was at the disposal of the mandarins, who helped themselves at their discretion. There was no sparing of manual labour, a cheap article in China. The long stone wall at Amoy, the largest work constructed, and when taken in flank the most useless, must have been a heavy undertaking.

The total outlay of the government was estimated at thirty millions of taels, or above ten millions sterling; but a large portion was certainly embezzled. The late emperor was always famous for his parsimony; and at the outbreak of the struggle, ignorant of the nature of the exigency, he withheld the means, and even refused payment of demands from the provinces; but subsequently his fears made him profuse of the public money.

The movements of the troops inflicted far greater injury on their countrymen than on the invaders. Such an undisciplined rabble committed ravages on the peaceful inhabitants which carried dismay wherever they appeared. Trade was at a standstill, on account of the insecurity of property. The assurances of the higher officers, that no harm should happen to the inhabitants, became altogether vain, as the military proceeded daily on plundering expeditions to make up the deficiencies in their own pay and allowances. "They found linen enough on every hedge." Severe encounters frequently took place with the peasantry and people of the towns, who armed in their own defence, and sometimes killed every

straggling soldier without mercy. The detachments which came in from the various provinces arrived sparingly and ill-provided, and had to be organised and fitted out at the place of destination, with arrears of pay to be made up. Drained of its customary funds, the government then had recourse to patriotic contributions, not always the free-will offerings of those from whom they were obtained. This rendered the monied classes very unfavourable to what was going on; and those who could have given the most effectual assistance withdrew beyond the reach of their extortioners.

Under all these unfavourable circumstances, it was strange to find so many papers and addresses from officers of the government, strenuously arguing for unyielding hostility. But the absence of a public press rendered many of them as ignorant of internal affairs as of the real nature of the external enemy with whom they had to deal. One of the most remarkable productions was a sort of essay, in which the question of peace or war was discussed, and which, as usual, was quite unanswerable, but for the incorrectness of the premises.

"Though we may dread the fierceness of these English barbarians," said the writer, "we ought not to listen to any proposals of peace, looking only to the present, and casting aside all regard to the future. To come to an accommodation with them now, would be only adding fuel to a fire which we should rather extinguish for ever. For more than a century our dynasty has extended its power in every direction, subjecting even the Mahomedans, and exercising its sway in the pacification of the Ghorkas. Should we then accede to any proposals to yield up even an inch of territory? We did not act thus with the Mongols and the people of Turkistan, who all in their turn had to become our tributaries. Are the English braver than the Mongols, and is not our empire far more powerful than when these were subjected to its sway? Though it may be the most advantageous to the English commerce to enter into a treaty, it is our duty to fight to the last. Never let it be said that the Central Empire sought for peace in a cowardly and unadvised manner. Remember that in giving the barbarians territory they will erect cities, make our subjects their own,

encroach on our revenues, erect churches, call the land their own, and thus profit by our weakness. They wish to coerce us into measures by military strength; they invade our country, rob our goods, and excite fears in our government, solely to force us to receive their commands. Let us, therefore, not listen to their conciliatory overtures in restoring Chuenpe and Chusan. It is due to the majesty of our empire to declare to the 'Foreign eye' that, unless he yield on a certain day, he shall be beheaded. The restoration of those places is nothing to the point, for it cannot revive our troops who fell bravely fighting in the struggle; it can never repair the evil caused by his violence.

"What are the English, that we should so much fear them? It is true they have gradually taken possession of Calcutta, Madras, and other parts. They even conquered Java for a time from the Hollanders, fixed themselves at Malacca, and opened a port in the Straits. This, however, only shows that they are insatiable, but not invincible. We still remember the pride with which their ambassador (Lord Amherst) appeared in the reign

of Keaking, at the capital.* Since then, they have made themselves acquainted with all the particulars of our country, and hence it was easy for them to occupy Chusan. They would not, however, be satisfied with this possession, but pursue their plan of aggrandisement, as the Russians at Peking told us they would. To cede to them territory under such circumstances would be to reward robbers and give licence to criminals.

"The present contest arose from nothing but the desire on our part to extinguish opium smuggling, and thus prevent the exportation of silver. If, therefore, we now grant them

* "It was a general sentiment at Canton that the resistance made by the embassy to the haughty conduct of the Peking court, was the best possible result that could have been obtained; and the mere reception, followed by the supercilious dismissal of the mission, would have been far too dearly purchased by compliances, which a former British ambassador very wisely refused. The impression produced by the spirit and firmness which had just been displayed, even under the personal frown of the despot, continued long to exercise its influence at Canton; and if such *temerity* in foreigners surprised the ignorant Chinese, it was at the same time calculated to remove some portion of their silly prejudices concerning the universal supremacy of the Celestial Empire."— *Sketches of China.*

territory for the sake of peace, this will be only giving fresh vigour to the traffic, and bringing the empire to ruin. It is much better to fight to the last than wait our destruction with folded hands. While they carry on this trade they derive great wealth from the drug, and are thus enabled to continue their operations. We, on our part, keep only on the defensive, collect large numbers of troops, and incur great expenses: ignorant of the place where we are to be attacked, we have to keep a considerable army always ready to combat the enemy. While our soldiers are reduced by alarms and watching, and dwindle away by sickness, they make the ships their home, live there comfortably, and fall upon us whenever it pleases them. This is the consequence of the defensive system carried on hitherto. Including Leaotung (coast of Manchow Tartary) there are seven of our maritime provinces liable to an attack by sea. At each of the ports we have, therefore, to keep up a force at an immense expense, and still cannot ensure the safety of the country, because we are weak at so many points. But it is not only that we have to

fear for the outskirts of the empire:—we apprehend still greater evils. The position which the barbarians took at Chusan being a central one, what was there to hinder their attacking the interior of our realm? There is the broad and wide Yang-tse, on which they can sail as upon the sea; and if they discover the passage, we are in great danger. Though we hope the English may never adopt such a course, it is our business to ponder that they may reach Chin-keang-foo, and threaten Nanking; and who could foretell the consequences? Would not the supply of grain cease? Would not China be separated into two parts? To prove that these apprehensions are not groundless, we have only to refer to the Japanese, who pursued the same course.*

"To keep on the defensive would, therefore, prove our ruin, and exhaust our resources.

* This prophecy was singularly fulfilled about a year after; and it was not merely a Chinese prediction. "When it is considered that the food and clothing of Peking, the rice and tea, the silk and cotton, proceed almost entirely from the south of the Great River, by what may really be called the *alimentary canal* of the Empire, it is impossible not to acknowledge the importance of this point, so vulnerable to our steamers and ships of war, and at the same time so vital to the Chinese."—*Sketches of China,* ii. p. 321.

To recur to the past, it appears that Kienloong spent on the Mahomedan war 23,100,000 taels, and in the Kinchuen war about 67,700,000 taels, which shows their wasteful effects on the treasury. What will be the immense sums required on such an extended line of defence as our coast? We did not thus act when the treaty was concluded with Russia; for instead of waiting for the arrival of their forces, we became ourselves the aggressors, and then for ever inspired fear and respect for our empire. Hence our north-western frontier has never been disturbed, and we retain our ascendancy in Tartary. The only prudent course, therefore, is to show a bold front to the English at once.

"The Russians are now our friends; their territory is not very far from the English, and joins ours. We should, therefore, spend thirty millions of taels in raising a daring army, and march directly through the Russian country to England. By carrying the war home to them, and occupying their own country, we should for ever banish them from our shores. Since the Russians are the enemies of the English, they would support our undertaking,

finding us, on our arrival in their country, with guns, and furnishing us with auxiliaries.

"Should this plan be rejected, it may be proposed to assault by water. It is well known that the Ghorkas are ready to attack the English in the rear, and the Cochin-Chinese to assist us, should we ourselves attack them on the water. For this purpose a fleet might be fitted out, at a cost of about five millions of taels, containing larger crews and heavier guns than the English. With these we might venture to meet them, and the victory would be certain. We might then take possession of Singapore, and anchor in the Straits of Sunda, intercepting all their supplies, and capturing their vessels. Thus we should reduce the 'barbarian eye' to the greatest difficulties, and make him succumb. He would then ask for peace, and humbly submit to our decrees. Being so near to Bengal, we should also be able to stop the export of opium, and thus for ever extinguish the traffic.

"Let us, therefore, be advised never to conclude a peace: an armistice, a temporary arrangement just for the present, in order to recover from our losses, is all we desire; this

once gained, we may act up to the former suggestions. Our maxim should be to attack, to beat, to expel; to arm the whole country against them, to spend all our revenues in the war, but never timidly to wait their coming, and act on the defensive. We must make a bold stand, or otherwise our power and influence, as well as our empire, may be lost; and China would feel the pressure of barbarian superiority. Let us avoid this by employing all the resources at the command of our government. If we scruple to incur so much expense, let it be also remembered that our losses and disgrace, and the silver to be exported for opium, will far exceed the cost to be borne in a war."

No name was attached to the above paper, but from the smattering of foreign information, and the tenor of the sentiment, it was probably the production of the Commissioner Lin, who had taken great pains when at Canton to obtain a knowledge of English matters. Another statesman, in addressing the emperor says: "The war originated in the strict prohibitions against opium, and its continuance may now be laid to the charge of

Keshen, who with fear and trembling transacted the affairs at Canton. From all his correspondence, it is not possible to learn what provision he made for preventing the spread of the evil, or what security he required of the English in future. He only refers to the cession of Hongkong, a measure highly condemned by the lieutenant-governor of the province; and this proves his utter uselessness as to the chief end of his mission. Keshen's successor, therefore, should carefully avoid his errors, and carry on the war vigorously.

"While the supplies of the barbarians are exhausted, we have received a reinforcement of soldiers, and may safely avail ourselves of the darkness of the night to burn their shipping. In a paper published by the barbarians at Canton *, they admit that though our army and navy in their disorganised state are perfectly useless, still the people are well adapted to be trained as excellent soldiers. Respecting the opium they have likewise without disguise expressed their opinion, which is unfavourable to its introduction into our

* Translations of all such papers were regularly obtained by the Chinese government.

country. Founding, therefore, our estimate upon theirs, we may venture to oppose them. Last year their men-of-war were in consternation at hearing of our preparations on the seas; and the same was the case at Amoy, whence their ships retreated. Their whole force now amounts to about six thousand men; and unless the villains who smuggle opium serve them for eyes, and ears, and wings, they must inevitably fall victims to our vengeance. All we have to do is liberally to reward our valiant men who attack them, and we shall soon rid ourselves of their presence. Their guns being placed on either side of their vessels, we ought to annoy them ahead and astern, where their shot cannot strike us, and then we may set them on fire with impunity.

"When Keshen presented them with provisions of every description, the people were thereby encouraged to repair to Hongkong and supply the market; but we must prevent this, and they will find themselves cooped up between the hills of that island without sufficient food to live upon, for the country yields very little. The enemy are moreover much reduced in their circumstances. The

soldiers are at a heavy expense of about one dollar per day each, and the navy costs enormous sums. Thus they have been obliged to borrow money at Macao; and the 'barbarian eye' assured Keshen that, of the seven millions stipulated, one at least must be paid to the forces, for his means were exhausted. But would it not be better to use this money in creating a militia and opposing the enemy, than affording them the means of carrying on their hostilities?

"For the same reason, we ought not with such facility to permit them to continue their commerce, the stoppage of which would reduce their means in a considerable degree. One condition should never be lost sight of, namely, the bond, by which every Englishman who smuggles opium shall suffer capital punishment. Keshen did not even allude to this salutary regulation, but it is our business to maintain it to the last. Let it not be forgotten that the English derive a large revenue from opium, and are thereby enabled to make military preparations: the moment we carry our point, and stop the source whence they obtain millions of money, their finances

will become deranged, and their means in the same measure hampered. If it be objected that the bond would be a mere empty form, the firm resistance of the 'barbarian eye' to its adoption proves the contrary, and their habitual good faith will make it a sacred obligation. Let us therefore not relax, but insist upon this indispensable condition of reopening the trade. Since the English are so eager for the recommencement of their traffic, let us couple the grant with another stipulation, that they present us with the head of Elliot, the leader in every mischief, the disturber of the peace, the source of all this trouble.

"Should we, who received an English tribute bearer under Kienloong, and sent one away under Keaking, yield them a territorial possession now, when it was before flatly refused them? This should never be, for it is derogatory to the dignity of the empire, fatal to our peace, and destructive to our best interests as a nation. Let us, therefore, treat them like the Ghorkas, whom we forced to give up their spoil, and never allow the English to retain what they have already taken.

"Keshen has granted them the privilege to correspond on equal terms. They were never permitted to write otherwise than through the Hong merchants, as petitioners, and to this they must be brought back. To conclude, we ought to yield none of their demands, but show them that Keshen was a false traitor, and that our government will not acknowledge one of his proceedings. After reducing them to the utmost straits, we might grant permission to trade as the only favour, under the express condition that no opium should be smuggled."

This was generally approved, and considered as patriotic advice, without bearing in mind the difficulties that beset the prosecution of war. The emperor had assigned the revenues of the different provinces to be expended in preparations, but these were soon exhausted. A Yusze, or privileged counsellor, thereupon stepped forward and recommended the often-suggested expedient of raising the requisite funds by a patriotic subscription; something like the "aids and benevolences" of our own history. To this the court warmly responded;

and as the official rank or title bestowed in return for the sums thus offered were not inconsiderable, the first effort succeeded very well. Subsequently, however, when the people perceived that their property was squandered or embezzled, without procuring either protection or exemption from the evils of war, they soon slackened in their gifts, and finally were ready rather to desert their homes than contribute their substance.

An officer of one of the tribunals at Peking, who had been previously at Amoy and seen two of our ships quit that place without attempting any operations on shore, though they silenced the batteries, was emboldened to put in his advice. He remarked "that both the Chinese army and navy had been greatly deteriorated by the long peace. Under such circumstances there remained only one course to pursue, and that was to raise the whole country against the invaders. In order to this, every fishing vessel ought to be fitted out as a war junk; every thing that could swim taken into the service of government to repel the invaders. Wherever the English

landed, innumerable bodies of militia should be drawn out to oppose their progress. The object was worthy of all sacrifices, and hence the necessity for straining every nerve and incurring heavy loss rather than fail in it: but nothing short of a general rising would answer the purpose."

Haeling, the Manchow Tartar general, who subsequently met such a tragical end at Chinkeang-foo, was (probably from his profession) one of the most strenuous advocates for war. He accordingly stated, in an address to the throne, that the barbarians had made the restoration of Chusan a plea for imploring favours, and had even received a permit from Keshen to purchase food along the coast. He advised, in the strongest terms, cutting off all supplies, and not permitting fishing and other vessels to leave the harbours; a measure which we have seen was once adopted, but abandoned from necessity.

Another officer inveighed in no measured terms against the lenient treatment experienced by the English at the mouth of the Peiho, near Peking, "whence they should

have been sent away with disdain as in 1816, when their embassy went to the capital and would not prostrate themselves before the emperor. Their exorbitant demands at Canton had been the result of this mistake, and they were encouraged in their overbearing conduct by Keshen. They might be annihilated by the Chinese troops if the commanding officers were only in earnest, but by delay they gathered strength, and became more daring. Not a word from Keshen referred to the total overthrow of the invaders; on the contrary, he begged favours for them. Only consider the 'barbarian eye' calling himself envoy and great minister, and Keshen responding to such titles! Will not such concessions lead all nations to lose their deferential feeling, and can such humiliation co-exist with the dignity of the empire? Will not the several western nations join in contempt of our weakness, and will they not insult us in the same manner if the English prevail? There remains nothing but to reduce them by the sword."

The above were the principal out of a host of addresses; to all of which the imperial reply

was, "Let there be no peace with the detestable barbarians, but let the dignity of the empire be upheld. Not an inch of ground must be yielded them, no compensation paid, no trade granted." And thus Keshen's treaty was repudiated.

CHAPTER IV.

RECOMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS AT CANTON TO CAPITULATION.

THE Chinese were so willing to be blinded to their own weakness, that all former defeats and losses found a ready explanation in the treason of Keshen. It was asserted that, in an interview which the deceased Admiral Kwan had with the minister, he had implored Keshen not to let him fall beneath the pressure of the hostile force, but that the latter had, notwithstanding, abandoned him in the hour of need, and purposely withheld the troops requisite for the defence of the Bogue forts. This was all in opposition to the plainest facts, for which thousands could vouch as eye-witnesses. All disposable troops were collected from the neighbourhood of Canton, guns transported from a distance, militia raised, and every preparation made that the ancient hostile feeling of Canton, added to Chinese intelligence and cunning, could suggest. Yet Keshen was a

traitor, and had abandoned the defence of his country. Whoever at that moment had denied the charge would have been treated as an accomplice of the unfortunate minister.

However great the ignorance of the people as to the real power of the invading force, some of the mandarins had shown by their conduct that they had formed a truer calculation. Numerous were the excuses for absence at the hour of need. Some camps remained without commanders. A flagrant instance of cowardice in the Chinese officers occurred at the island battery called Wangtung, at the Bogue. The mandarins during the heat of our fire seized the only boats at hand, and escaped to the opposite shore, leaving the garrison to their fate; who, however, enraged at this desertion, discharged the guns at the fugitives during their retreat. It is only surprising how such a rabble as these Chinese garrisons could ever have been conconsidered a match for any trained force. But every thing was to be carried by the numerical amount of men and of guns. As for the latter, the more powder the more execution; and so it proved to the defenders

themselves, when the guns were loaded to the muzzle and burst, as might have been expected.

What seemed among other matters greatly to nettle the emperor was a proclamation, issued by the plenipotentiary, calling on the inhabitants of Hongkong to become British subjects. This was adduced as a flagrant instance of the presumption to which Keshen had submitted, and which he had fostered by his treason to his country. The Peking government now flattered itself that those who had been so loud in their vituperation of the unsuccessful negotiator were the men to employ against the English, and great things were in consequence expected from them; in fact, nothing short of the entire destruction of the invading force was predicted.

The executors of the vengeance of the Celestial Empire, in whom all hopes and anticipations became centred, were selected by the emperor himself. The chief was his own nephew, by name Yihshan, a particular favorite of the sovereign, and retained for many years about his person. In addition to the confidence arising from near relationship, the

emperor had a right to expect that one who had received so many favours, and enjoyed such trust, would prove an energetic and effective servant. Yihshan, however, was one of those privileged scions of the imperial house who in China often possess all the vices with none of the virtues of high station. He was in the prime of life, but of sensual habits, unaccustomed to war, and unfitted to command. He owed his appointment to his high rank, and by his incapacity and cowardice proved himself unworthy of it. Being nominated generalissimo, with plenipotentiary powers, an unlimited command of all the means and appliances of war was placed in his hands. He possessed one Chinese merit at least, that of supreme contempt of, and unmitigated hostility towards, the English. This was at the time a sufficient title to his honours.

The second in command was Loongwun, a Mongol Tartar, who had resided at Peking as president of one of the boards, and in confidential intercourse with the emperor. He also was a determined opponent to all peaceful overtures, and as such appointed to be Yihshan's counsellor, spurring him on to repay

the "barbarians" for their unheard of temerity. The third of this triumvirate was Yangfang, an old man above seventy, who had obtained successes against the Meaoutsze, savage aboriginal mountaineers between Hoonan and Canton provinces, and received many distinctions from the emperor. He reached Canton the first of the three, just after the capture of the Bogue forts, and despatched two thousand of the troops which he had brought with him to the first bar, to expel the English. But there the light squadron under Sir Thomas Herbert, on the 1st of March 1841, taught them a new and terrible lesson, burning and blowing up a ship which had been purchased and manned to oppose us, and dispersing the whole of the Chinese troops on shore with great slaughter. Yangfang, however, reported his victory to the emperor in these terms: "The Hoonan soldiers had an engagement with the barbarians, in which they killed many of them and drove numbers into the water. The troops behaved bravely on the occasion. Thirty officers, four hundred and fifty soldiers, and the commander of the force himself, died for their country." The

emperor, in the reply afterwards received, rejoiced at such devotion and valour, for Chinese troops generally fight without much loss; and his majesty added that there were still myriads ready to shed their blood. He augured well from this success and gloried in the future prospects, all arising from the recall of Keshen. A few more victories of this description led to the capitulation before Nanking.

Many of these troops never re-assembled after their dispersion, having had quite enough of glory, but divided into small bands, living as robbers in the province which was new to them. The peasantry, seeing their houses invaded and plundered, and some of their numbers murdered in cold blood, rose *en masse* and killed as many of the ruffians as they could catch, leaving the rest to find their way back to their homes.

The British force was, on the 2d of March, approaching nearer and nearer to Canton, while Yangfang could do nothing, for most of the provincial army was dispersed, and only a part of the levies from the provinces had reached their destination. In this dilemma,

he despatched a less favourable report to Peking, representing that he was left quite alone, to maintain himself in the city as he best might. "We are still fighting," said he, "but with doubtful success. A throng of the gentry and citizens besiege me, begging earnestly that I should make peace: they weep bitterly, and many of the inhabitants leave their homes. When multitudes of voices are thus raised, your minister has only to yield to necessity. Though ready to devote my life, I have not the means of commanding success, and, though willing to offer my neck to the executioner, am unable to pursue aggressive measures."

It was in consequence of this state of things that the chief Hong merchant and Yu, the prefect of Canton, came out upon a raft on the 3d of March with a flag of truce, to have a meeting with H. M.'s plenipotentiary near Napier's Fort. They had now the extreme assurance to urge that questions of such vast importance as those pending could only be arranged at Peking; though so short a time had elapsed since the British authorities had

consented to come back from the neighbourhood of Peking to settle them at Canton:

"Romæ Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam!"

It was the object of this "forlorn hope" of negotiation to propose that the trade should remain open and the British force be gradually withdrawn; but such hollow proposals were of little avail, and on the 6th of March Napier's Fort was occupied by our troops, and a proclamation issued to the people of Canton to remain quiet, and carry on their usual occupations, if they would have their city spared.

The Commissioner Lin was on the spot about this time, but without office. In a letter to the north he lamented, in the bitterest terms, the vacillation of the authorities and their want of firmness and determination. "On my own part," added he, "I am exercising 800 volunteers at my sole charge." These fellows, however, made off with an advance of money, when they saw the Nemesis steamer coming up to close quarters, and left their leader helpless in sight of the English, a lesson which he did not forget. About this

time a treatise on tactics appeared, upon the adoption of which it was promised that the British force should be annihilated. Multitudes were to be set to work to execute the plan proposed. Among other devices was a huge floating battery, made shot-proof by sand-bags, and furnished with heavy guns, as well as provided with combustibles to burn the shipping. This was actually attempted; but, one little calculation being left out of the account, it was discovered, when too late, that the huge machine did not possess buoyancy sufficient to support the weight required, and so it remained useless where it had been constructed. The quantity of powder manufactured, the number of rafts put together, the guns brought from various points, and the whole amount of preparations, were on an enormous scale, and showed no backwardness in expenditure, if this alone had been sufficient to get rid of the unwelcome invaders. Never had Canton witnessed operations on such a scale, and with so fixed a determination against the enemy.

Yihshan, the emperor's relative and generalissimo of the Chinese forces, at length

reached his post on the 14th of April; but his dissipated habits and total inaptitude for serious business rendered him a wonderfully inert spectator of passing occurrences, while Yangfang remained the real actor. The different divisions of troops from the provinces gradually approached Canton, and added to the resolution to resist the "barbarians." An interval of a most extraordinary nature and of singular length now occurred, during which no active measures were adopted by either side, but trade went on under a state of armed suspense. It was unfortunate that the cold and dry season, the most favourable for the action of our troops, was passing away, to give place to heat and rain when operations were at last resumed. Meanwhile, it was hardly doubtful to shrewd observers that the Chinese were anything but relaxing in their preparations.

Troops arrived daily from the various provinces to the north after Yihshan had reached Canton, and about the beginning of May unequivocal symptoms of fear and distrust were shown by the Chinese traders, who forsook their warehouses and shops, and re-

tired from the suburbs near the foreign factories with ominous haste. It was now time for the European merchants to think of consulting their safety. The most prudent had embarked their property on board ship, and stood prepared to depart themselves on the first appearance of hostilities. These were immediately prefaced by a proclamation from Yu, the prefect of the city, assuring the foreign traders that their persons and property were in no sort of danger; a mere attempt to lull them into security and give time for the preparations of the Chinese. The attack began, as might have been expected, on our very weakest quarter, by setting adrift, on the evening of the 21st of May, a number of fire-rafts upon a cutter and schooner anchored in front of the factories, followed up by a discharge of guns which had been secretly brought to bear on them from the shore. It was fortunate that the British position was not taken unawares, but such arrangements had been made by concentrating the naval and military force in the neighbourhood of the city as the occasion seemed to require.

The surprise of the Chinese was great when the main body of the British land force, instead of waiting an attack in front of the town, advanced round by the westward to take possession of the heights in the rear, which completely command the city and its defences from the north. The statements of the force within the walls of Canton vary considerably; but from the lists which have been found, it may be gathered that about 17,000 troops from the provinces were assembled on that occasion. The Manchow garrison did not muster above 2000; nor could the native Canton troops have been more, in consequence of the late defeat and desertions. A large number of militia furnished guards for many miles in the neighbourhood of the river.

The numbers cooped up in the city served mainly as a scourge to the inhabitants. All order seems to have been soon lost, and the confusion was terrible in its results. The walls to the north were not at first badly defended, but a small fraction of the whole force was sufficient for this. The operations on the river, such as the towing of fire-rafts,

appear to have been entrusted to fishermen and those idle desperadoes with whom the neighbourhood of the city abounds. No Chinese officers were seen among them; and many of the fishing vessels which had been hired for the occasion, and burned by our shipping, were never paid for.

The rapid succession of defeats sustained by the Chinese, both on the river and on the shore, were at first reported to the emperor by their leaders in terms better calculated to convey an idea of victories. The account of the first action with fire-rafts was as follows: — "We had already assembled a large body of mariners to make a joint attack on the English when they approached with their vessels in two bodies. From a number of spies who were taken prisoners, we learned that they were going to lay siege to the provincial city, and we took our measures accordingly. Having promised 200 dollars for every barbarian that should be taken, we placed our soldiers along the river in ambush, while the Tartar general guarded the city, and the emperor's guards from Peking were distributed along the walls. Our force was so arranged

as to commence a general attack simultaneously on all sides; while some of the boldest of our men were to hook on combustibles to the enemy's shipping, and thus spread destruction throughout. But this did not succeed, as their vessels opened such a fire that it was impossible to get near them. The whole river was soon a sheet of flame, the lamentations of the barbarians could be heard for miles, and while the vessels were drifting their crews fell into the water in great numbers. No less than two of the largest ships and five smaller were burned, and the drowned were so numerous that they could not be counted. The barbarian vessels then proceeded to Neiching, where our gun-boats and fire-rafts were assembled; and though beaten back, and having two more of their vessels sunk, they nevertheless returned and destroyed a great number of our fire-rafts. Not withstanding our success, their vessels increased in number, many coming in from sea, for these barbarians are very intrepid, and do not fear death. The old city is strong enough to withstand their attacks, but the new one is not so well fortified. We shall, with united

strength, resist their efforts and maintain ourselves."

The next report states, how "the English vessels set fire to the people's houses, and thereby created great confusion and misery. The Chinese traitors, in the mean while, availing themselves of this state of things, increased the calamity by additional conflagrations. The enemy's vessels were then rapidly advancing and taking possession of the outlet (a creek) whence our fire-rafts were to issue, attacking and throwing shells into the town, which did much damage. At this time we sunk a steamer, burned a three-masted vessel, and received the Chinese traitors with a discharge of rockets.* Thus we maintained our ground firmly; and the gates being well protected, we relieved the soldiers outside the city walls, by letting down provisions. The inhabitants were struck with terror, though the magistrates took pains to extinguish the fires occasioned by the rockets. They left the city in crowds, and thereby increased the general confusion. We ourselves went round

* The Chinese rockets are what they call "fire-arrows," being, in fact, arrows fastened to common sky-rockets.

the walls by turns at night, to inspect the works, encourage the soldiers, and infuse a spirit of emulation. Thus Canton was preserved, and every one remained at his post."

The emperor seems to have been so well deceived by these first accounts, that he wrote a commendation himself in the margin of the despatches: "The reckless barbarians are at last punished for their enormous crimes. Let great vigilance be exercised to prevent their reaching the most important points in the river. The proper Board will deliberate upon what rewards are to be bestowed upon Yih-shan and his colleagues. We in the meanwhile present them with some purses and agate rings, as personal marks of high approbation." But presently there arrived an express from Canton, conveying a different sort of despatch from the generalissimo Yihshan.

"Notwithstanding repeated rounds of discharges from the guns, it was found impossible to repel all the barbarian vessels. The enemy subsequently landed, and attacking the forts on the north side of the city, threw such a quantity of rockets and shells, that a number of soldiers and high officers were wounded and

driven back within the gates of the city. It was then that the streets became covered with the mass of the people, who, with cries and lamentations, besought us to procure peace for them. When I, your minister, beheld them, my courage entirely failed. I, therefore, looked down from the walls, and inquired of the barbarians what it was they wanted. They all replied, that 'they had not yet received compensation for the opium delivered up, amounting to several millions of taels. The payment of this money was the only request they had to prefer, and on receiving the same they would retire beyond the Bogue.' When I insisted upon their restoring Hongkong, they asserted that it had been delivered to them by Keshen, and they could produce a paper to prove this. Reflecting that the city was in the utmost danger, the people in the most wretched condition, and every thing in confusion, I agreed temporarily to their request. Considering, too, that the war had injured us vitally, that there was no ground adapted to drawing up the army, and no other means of inducing the English to withdraw and restore our forts, I had additional reasons for consent-

ing to the proposal. I shall, however, adopt measures for reconquering our territory of Hongkong hereafter. I have now only to beg that I and my colleagues may be punished for our faults, and, trembling, present this prayer for peace from the whole people to the throne."

This account of the condition of Canton was not overdrawn. When the several points of defence to the north of the city had been carried by the British force, and all the Chinese or Tartar troops driven from the forts, the fugitives pressed in crowds for shelter into the city. The inhabitants, anxious to escape from the plunder and confusion, left Canton in multitudes at the eastern gates, carrying with them whatever could be easily removed. The dregs of the rabble, having had their appetite for plunder whetted by the spoil of the foreign factories, now commenced a general attack on the citizens' dwellings. This example was soon followed by the irregular military; and now were enacted those indescribable scenes which attend a general sack and pillage. The resistance offered by the owners produced a massacre of innocent and unoffending persons.

The levies from the north declared those of Canton traitors and enemies to their country, and slaughtered the people indiscriminately. When the Cantonese rallied and began the work of retribution, a war of extermination raged within the crowded space of the walls, and the Chinese leaders, unable to quell the general rage, or to control their own people, resolved to conclude a convention with the enemy at every risk and expense.

The escape of the city was critical. Every outwork on the north face had been carried by the British force, and Canton might be said to lie at the feet of the victors. The Chinese had entertained so little expectation of the town being attacked to the north, that they had placed the greater portion of their powder and ammunition in and near a temple dedicated to the image of *Kwanyin*, "Our Lady of Mercy." A rocket had fallen on a building not far from this, and produced some explosion, without going further; though if the magazine in the temple had been ignited, the destructive effect of such an immense mass of powder would have been incalculable. The saving miracle was of course ascribed to

the goddess whose image was in the temple, and Yihshan applied to the emperor for fresh honours to be conferred on *Kwanyin* for her interference in preserving the city. How little difference between this and a Papist legend!

The veteran *Yangfang* made his appearance on the walls to confer with the chiefs of the besieging force, and his speech was of the blandest description. As a complete novelty in the history of military intercourse, he took off a pair of gold bracelets or bangles from his martial wrist, and threw them down by way of a peace-offering. The terms of the convention had, however, been decided by the plenipotentiary at the other side of the city; and six millions of dollars were to be immediately paid for the opium, with a resumption of the foreign trade, on condition of the British force quitting the river. The disappointment of both the military and naval branches of the expedition, at being thus arrested in the full tide of their victorious course, was very great, as might have been expected.

Yihshan, in a memorial to the emperor, wherein he described the situation of the

city, and the close neighbourhood of the hostile army, proceeded to allege that, "the space around the city being too narrow for deploying the Chinese forces to repel the enemy, the want of provisions was very soon felt, and, as the approaches were all in possession of the English, no supplies could possibly enter. The loss of the metropolis would have entailed much misery on the province, and given rise to general plundering. Hence it was our duty to retain the whole force within the walls for its defence. Being doubtful what measures should next be adopted, we were assailed by the petitions of the people praying for relief. We heard in the meanwhile that the enemy outside had made signs for a parley, and we despatched an officer to ascertain the purport. When questioned by an interpreter respecting their outrages, and their resistance to the empire, it was stated, that having been long precluded from carrying on commerce, and unable to obtain an exchange for their goods, they had suffered great losses, and could not pay their debts. While the guns thundered from the walls, they had been unable to make

known their wishes, and therefore repaired to the generalissimo to ask his intercession with the great emperor to bestow favours on them, and while their debts were paid, permit them to carry on commerce; in return for which, they would immediately retire and give up the forts. As the Hong merchants made a similar representation, and the people were in favour of such a measure, we resolved to get rid of them by a sum of money, as by far the cheapest way. The misery inflicted upon the people was of the severest nature, and no one could foresee the consequences if such a state of things continued; we, therefore, commissioned the prefect Yu to enter into an arrangement to that effect. *But once having got rid of them, and blocked up all the passages leading to Canton, we may again cut off their commerce, and place them in the worst possible position.*"

The above is a specimen of the truth which the emperor receives from his ministers, and of the good faith which foreign nations are to expect from the Chinese. The Canton government hoped they should be able to make the Hong merchants pay the six millions of dollars out of that fertile old source, the Consoo fund.

It was accordingly represented to Peking that "the merchants confessed to having run up considerable debts with the foreigners, and, being unable to pay them just now, they begged to borrow some millions of taels from the government, which they would repay in instalments from the Consoo fund." An ingenious plea was discovered for the late defeats, and it was urged that there were innumerable native traitors, conversant with the English language, who not only gave immediate information of every movement, but even fought on the side of the foreigners. So the Chinese were vanquished by themselves.

Nor were trophies wanting. Having got possession of the body of one of our soldiers, they cut off the head and sent it up to Peking as that of Sir Gordon Bremer, who (like Mr. Consul Thom) had the satisfaction to hear of his own destruction, if not to see it represented in a picture.

While the negotiations were still pending before the city, an event occurred which took even the Chinese authorities by surprise. The people had hitherto borne no part in the warfare personally, and would probably have re-

mained mere spectators to the end; but during the occupation of the heights in the rear of Canton, some idle camp-followers and other stragglers had wandered into the half-deserted villages, and committed excesses of various kinds, more especially in opening several tombs, concerning which the Chinese entertain a very strong feeling. Two persons of the lettered class, to whom Yihshan had given a commission to collect a militia for the security of the neighbourhood, possessed great influence among the peasantry, and at the call of these leaders a general rising took place. Every rusty spear and sword was put in requisition, and many thousands having collected on the hills, seemed to threaten the British position. This tumultuous rabble was hardly a worthy foe for a disciplined and victorious force; but as their numbers gradually increased to some thousands, a message was sent to the city, to say that the white flag should be hauled down, and hostilities resumed against the town, unless these demonstrations were quickly withdrawn. Yu, the prefect of Canton, now appeared, declaring that the armed assemblage was without the sanction of the

mandarins, and merely to protect the villages from plunder. He despatched a message, and succeeded in dispersing them after some discussion; but many circumstances have since occurred to lead to the often-repeated wish that they had experienced a taste of that for which they professed so much readiness, and been put to the rout by a few shot and shells. An idea has ever since clung to the ignorant Canton rabble, that they were equal to the enemy before which their government had shrunk, and the absurdity of the notion has not prevented its being productive of the utmost trouble and mischief not only to foreigners, but their own government. In the very year following, in December, 1842, soon after the treaty of Nanking had been formally concluded, the Canton mob burned down the British factories and flagstaff, and their excesses were perpetually and annually resumed up to the public decapitation of the four murderers of the Englishmen in 1847, with the subsequent punishment of eleven more; since which a diminution has taken place in their taste for mischief.

The following production appeared after the

British force had quitted Canton; and placards of the same description have since been constantly exhibited. "We are the children of the Celestial Empire, and are able to defend our homes. We can exterminate you without the aid of the mandarins, and the measure of your crimes is full. Had we not been hindered in our design by the agreement concluded with the authorities, you should have felt the arm of our citizens. Dare not again to offend us, for we will make an example of you; and, when you see an enemy in every creek and corner, escape will be impossible." After the departure of our troops, bands of the irregular militia were stationed every where, not less as a defence from native robbers than as a demonstration against foreigners; while the levies from distant provinces, which had proved such a scourge to the city, were all marched back again.

Entirely at variance with the foregoing piece of bombast was a proclamation issued by the Governor of Canton. He described himself as unfit to hold his high station, as he had failed in protecting the people. There was certainly no disguising what had occurred,

and this paper betrayed the helplessness of the government in all its nakedness. The degraded Commissioner Lin addressed a letter to one of his relatives, in which he describes the excesses committed by the Chinese soldiery; the mercenary conduct of the General Yang-fâng, who was only anxious to dispose of the plunder of the foreign factories for ready cash; the unworthy behaviour of all the officers of government, except the judge; and the treason of Yu the prefect. The latter incurred such a storm of unpopularity in consequence of his mediation with the armed rabble, as well as his general moderation, that he was denounced by the populace as a traitor to his country, and obliged to retire to his native village. The judge was quite as inveterate a Chinese as Lin himself. Driven almost to madness by the recent disasters, he addressed a long epistle on the subject to another mandarin, a native of the province. "Here," said he, "we have had an army of 17,000 men, spent all the money in the treasury, amounting to several millions, brought timber from Kwangse, gunpowder and matchlocks from Keangse, and all kinds of warlike implements. Yet we

have been utterly worsted; a calamity at which I was stricken with shame, and scarcely dare to express my sentiments in writing. The fortifications, which were planted about like figures on the chessboard, and had served as a sufficient defence to our forefathers, were abandoned by this generation. We dreaded the English as tigers, surrendered our defences, and finally retired into the city to come to a parley. When the enemy's vessels passed spots where store-junks had been sunk, no soldier could be seen to dispute the passage. While numerous Chinese traitors served them as spies, there was not a single barbarian who would inform us of the movements of the English. Hence they were able to sound and discover the depth of water, and surprise us in every quarter. It is inexplicable how we let the opportunity slip of reconquering Hongkong, when all their troops had embarked for Canton, and thus taking them in rear; but nothing was done. The soldiers, stationed to protect the approaches to the northern gates, abandoned their posts like cowards. When the barbarians bombarded the city, and more than a

thousand houses of the people were burnt down, the gates were kept open to allow the fugitive soldiers from the forts to enter; but none of the citizens were allowed to retire. Even when the people in multitudes attacked the enemy in the rear, none of our numerous troops dared to make a rally and trouble their front. How easily might Elliot have been seized at the foreigners' quarter; but nobody ventured to do it. When, finally, our soldiers were driven into the city, there arose a furious combat with the native militia, and innumerable bodies strewed the streets. All discipline was lost; a confused clamour filled the ways, and everywhere I observed plunder and murder. Several thousands of our soldiers ran away, after loading themselves with robbed goods, and then pretended they had lost their road in pursuit of the enemy. On account of these disgraceful events I am quite overwhelmed, and ready to destroy myself; yet it would avail very little. Henceforth we shall be an object of contempt to other nations, *and the native villains will gain strength and oppose the government.*" The last prediction has been fulfilled to the letter,

and is now apparent in the rebellion of the province.

Either the mandarins had still succeeded in keeping the emperor very much in the dark as to the real nature of events at Canton, or his majesty was a skilful dissembler in the following paper:—"I have perused a despatch of Yihshan, stating that the barbarians, after attacking the city, had been twice repulsed, and the metropolis of the province saved from all harm. Our display of martial courage has reduced the enemy to the utmost straits. The said barbarians came, and submissively asked that some efforts might be made to supplicate imperial favours for them. It appears that your sense of duty would not permit you to refuse them trade; but you ought to order the barbarian vessels to leave instantly and proceed to the open sea, restoring the forts, and obeying the established regulations. The English are not permitted to introduce any contraband articles, to which end the local authorities ought to take decisive measures. Let the forts be repaired, and a constant guard kept up; and if the English show the least degree of arrogance you should slay

them with your army. Let the governor rebuild the houses of the people which have been destroyed. The 2,800,000 taels lent to the Hong merchants must be repaid in annual instalments."

With all its persistence in arrogance and absurdity, it must be admitted that even this document is an improvement on the last from the same high quarter, and breathes less of remorseless war and entire extermination.

The three High commissioners sent to defend Canton never again made their appearance on the stage, and may therefore be dismissed with a short notice of the fate of each. Yih-shan, who owed his appointment solely to his rank as the imperial relative, after the disastrous result of his command only added to the intensity of that sensual and debauched course by which he had previously been distinguished. Thus he continued unnoticed and unregarded during the alarm and excitement of the war, until the conclusion of the Nanking treaty gave leisure for the consideration of his case, when he was denounced for having squandered the provincial funds and done nothing for his country. To escape

punishment he absconded; but, being taken, was conducted to Peking as a criminal, when the emperor soon relented in favour of his kinsman. Having remained in confinement until the ferment against him had subsided, he was then removed to a distance, and appointed to a subordinate office in Chinese Toorkistan, where he has since remained.

The second in command did not long survive his disgrace, but left Yihshan to make this report of his death: — "Loongwan fell sick in the camp; and while he lay stretched on his couch, recalled to mind the great favours which he had received at your majesty's hands. Overcome with vexation at his inability to exterminate the barbarians, and at his apparent ingratitude, the disease increased upon him; and while exhorting me to make the requisite dispositions, he wept and died." The coffin with his body was despatched to Peking, with orders that funeral sacrifices should be made to it *en route*. Such was the end of one who had gained credit at court by ignorantly pledging himself that he would finish the war by the entire discomfiture of the invaders.

The aged Yangfâng lost all his former laurels, and addressed a petition to the emperor for leave of absence on the plea of sickness. As his services might easily be dispensed with, this was readily granted, and he reached his native province dispirited and downcast. Thence he again addressed a memorial to the throne, stating that he had served forty-eight years, during many of which he had held high commands, and being disabled by wounds, as well as deaf, he entreated to be allowed to retire from service. This request was not refused, leaving him one of the very few who escaped positive punishment as the recompense of ill success. In this manner every successive disaster tended to restore the credit of the disgraced Keshen, and to afford cause of regret to the Chinese government that it had not been satisfied with the moderation of the concessions which he had made to British demands; concessions far too moderate, however, and much too favourable to China under the circumstances, to have been eventually ratified in England.

The typhoon, or hurricane, which occurred on the 21st July, some time after our force

quitted the Canton river, became a source of consolation and hope to the Chinese government. Considerable damage having been done to the shipping about Hongkong, it became the impression that the images in their temples had taken vengeance on the invaders, and that the strength of the enemy was reduced. Yih-shan himself wrote this report to the emperor: — "On the 29th day of the 6th moon a typhoon arose, driving out to sea the vessels of the barbarians anchored at Hongkong, destroying their tents and huts, sweeping away the pier, and leaving nothing but the bare ground. The sea is now full of dead bodies floating about." The emperor observed in reply that "he felt happy and grateful for the interposition of the gods, and trembled at the fate of the barbarians; yet the measure of their sins was full. It might confidently be hoped that heaven would destroy them, and the Poosă (images) interpose to carry them off by pestilential vapours. When they have been removed from the earth, peace and quietness will again prevail, and all things prosper. I have therefore sent twenty

great incense-sticks from Thibet (consecrated by their pope, the Grand Lama), that Yihshan may devoutly burn them in the temples, as a thank-offering to the images. I have likewise directed that four princes of the imperial family repair to the temple of *Taeping**, to perform the same service, assisted by the priests of my household."

With conscious weakness the Chinese readily caught at straws, like drowning men, for sources of comfort and re-assurance. Edicts were promulgated along the coast, stating that "the armament of the English was annihilated, and the people might therefore sleep quietly. Their soldiers were drowned, their vessels sunk, and scarcely a vestige left of their forces." The aspirations and wishes of the mandarins on the coast were only too ready to foster the delusion, and some appeared ignorant enough to think that there really was an end of the threatened danger. It was not long before a British squadron, really formidable in any part of the

* "Universal peace"—equivalent to the *orbe pacato* on ancient Coins.

world from its numbers and force, sailed along in sight of the promontories, to dispel these visionary hopes, and to prove that the peril was far greater than had ever been reckoned on.

CHAPTER V.

CHINESE POLICY AS TO THE WAR.

THE ill-success of strong and violent measures had brought the late Commissioner Lin again into unfavourable notice. This functionary played so prominent a part in the origin and commencement of the war, that he deserves to be noticed through his varying fortunes. The emperor wrote of him in these terms: "I had directed Lin to repair to Canton, in order to cut off the sources of opium, and make arrangements for its future suppression. But he never succeeded in extinguishing the traffic. We now have English ships sailing along the coasts of the maritime provinces, and are obliged to expend the revenues in making defences against them. Lin was therefore summoned to appear and answer for his remissness at Peking. This was not on account of the representations of the barbarians, but because the real circumstances of

his case had become fully known. It was the injury inflicted by his mismanagement that prompted this course, and by no means a consideration of the English claims."

Another rescript was afterwards issued, in which the autocrat observed that "the troops ought to be in such excellent condition as to render any foreign attacks impossible. Nothing but victories should attend the imperial arms. A former governor *Le* (of Canton), who neglected this important point, was banished for it, and since then has *Teng* shown an equal remissness, wasting the public revenue to no purpose. Lin, when despatched as imperial commissioner, had the supreme command of all the forces, and being colleagued with military mandarins, ought to have taken a lead in these matters and kept the barbarians in check by a mixture of intimidation and pacific overtures. In all this, however, he failed, and accordingly let him be degraded four steps in rank and sent to Elee to retrieve his offences."

Lin, however, had a word to urge in his own exculpation. He had long been known as an uncompromising adviser of the throne,

and on the occasion of an inundation presented a paper in direct opposition to the emperor's opinion, for which, instead of blame, he had received his meed of praise.* On the subject of the opium trade, he had received the personal commands of the emperor, and having carried these commands into effect, considered himself blameless, notwithstanding the untoward results. In his reply, he contrived to adhere to his former opinions under all the customary forms of humility. "I read my doom," said he, "with fear and trembling, and remained speechless and prostrate. Of the ill-success of my operations I am myself

* M. Huc, in his amusing work, gives what may be considered a true, but, at the same time, somewhat exaggerated, picture of the subservience of Chinese ministers. He quotes a conversation with Keshen, a very different character from Lin, and one who was likely enough to have been the original of his own description: —"Notre Empereur nous dit, Voilà qui est blanc. Nous nous prosternons, et nous répondons, Oui, voilà qui est blanc. Il nous montre ensuite le même objet, et nous dit, Voilà qui est noir; nous nous prosternons de nouveau, et nous répondons, Oui, voilà qui est noir." The truth is, that all this must depend very much on the personal character of the despot, and there may occur in China, what occurred at Imperial Rome, — the "Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet."

ashamed, and have nothing to say, but that I exerted myself according to my humble capacity. Whatever punishment your majesty may be pleased to inflict, I shall willingly receive, and even beg that I may suffer it. Still the good of the nation is nearest to my heart, and I unreservedly state my thoughts to the sacred lord* (Shing Choo). The English cannot give up the profits which they derive from opium, and hence their obstinate opposition. Unless they can retain this traffic they will be unable to maintain their troops. So many of their people died at Chusan, that they were obliged to return to the Canton river, where the other foreigners were indignant† at their behaviour, and intimated that they would send for vessels of war. They

* The term *shing* is applied to deified persons, and to the Emperor, being equivalent to "Divus," as in the instances Divus Julius, &c., but applied in China to the living as well as dead.

† The "little knowledge" which Lin acquired of Foreigners at Canton proved (according to the adage) "a dangerous thing." He was misled by ignorant or designing persons, and fondly imagined that the hostilities of the British would be prevented by *other* Foreign powers, little dreaming of the International code of the family of civilised states, and the established rights of belligerents as to blockades, &c. (See Appendix.)

must, therefore, finally submit, and from my acquaintance with their character I would suggest that we keep on the defensive, and finally weary them out.

"I must revert to the opium, the cause of all this misery, and again declare that it is a spreading evil which will inundate the empire, unless bounds be set to it. I made a beginning, and inspired the foreigners with fear. As all other nations now abstain from bringing opium to this country, why should the English alone be exempted from giving a bond, and why should we make a compromise with them? No; let us never swerve an inch, but maintain the dignity of the Empire. This may very well be done. Reckoning from the first year of Taoukwang to the present time, we have received more than 30,000,000 of taels from the Canton customs. If we now employ one-tenth of this sum to cast guns and fit out proper vessels, we shall be able to meet the barbarians, and then with their own money place ourselves in a proper position. I entreat that I may be allowed to follow the army to Chěkeang, there to atone for my previous crimes, and evince my patriotism."

The reply to this was, "Let him repair to Chĕkeang as he petitions, and let him retain the fourth rank. According to the report of his late colleagues, he showed much repentance when his mismanagement was made known to him. Perceiving the extravagance of the barbarians, he is anxious to display his indignation, and prove the sincerity of his devotedness."

There was now some hope on the part of the friends of this mandarin that he might regain his former place in the emperor's favour, and again enjoy some portion of his former honours, — that he might become the principal adviser of the sovereign, or have the command of the Fokien and Chĕkeang provinces. These expectations, however, were not realised. The danger appeared every day to thicken, and the prospect of the war to be less and less promising.

> "In pejùs ruere, et retrò sublapsa referri
> Spes Danaum."

Doubts were reasonably entertained of the capacity of one who, after all the preparations at Canton, had only plunged the nation into a

contest which now bore so serious an aspect. Still, to the inhabitants of that city, implacable against foreigners, he was the man of the people. So great was the popularity of Lin and of his party, that only one individual dared to draw a comparison (and that anonymously) between him and Keshen, both of them now in disgrace. It was a curious paper, and deserves notice.

"From the moment when Lin came to Canton (said this partisan of Keshen), he cared neither for the nation nor the people under him, but looked upon their lives as mere rushes.* Assuming to himself the merits of others, and proud of his power, he embroiled us with the barbarians, but when the danger approached, had no means of averting it. Keshen, on the contrary, spoke the truth; and what he predicted has come to pass, though many accused him as a traitor, and as the cause of the late calamity. If it is true that he was the cause, who is to be accused of the disasters to the north? But Lin was immo-

* Referring to the number of persons who, during his administration, died in prison or met with a violent death.

derately ambitious, though he knew how to gloss over his faults. What advantage was it to the state or the people to have burned the opium? Could he thereby prevent the barbarians from bringing a fresh supply? or could the forfeiture of the smoking apparatus prevent the people from using the same again? His successor in Hookwang, desiring to follow up his plans as to opium, proved a tyrant to the people, and rendered his recall necessary. Such proceedings as those recommended by Lin would lead to a revolution, when one considers that, under his sole sentence, several thousands died in prison. The most stupid of the people could not have ruled with greater want of prudence than Lin himself, who, by demanding the surrender of the opium, whereby not a single individual was benefited, produced a war. Now, for all these measures he is praised, and Keshen condemned: the one for having called down on our nation all the evils of war, the other for endeavouring to preserve the blessings of peace. While he well knew that the mandarins were chiefly concerned in the smuggling of opium, Lin was severe and cruel towards the people only, exempting those

who, by their connivance and corruption, or their own immoderate use of the drug, were the true causes of the mischief. For all these blunders, and their mischievous effects, Lin is praised; while Keshen has been denounced for receiving bribes, in consequence of an idle rumour without any proof."

This paper was extensively circulated, but without producing any effect. Far from being convinced by its really true and cogent arguments, the influential people of Canton, that is, the bigoted Chinese literati, the most difficult to wean from antiquated prejudices, displayed their marked disapproval of its contents. As soon as the 6,000,000 of dollars were paid, and the British troops withdrawn, the populace, who had contributed nothing towards the indemnity, forgot all that passed, and encouraged by the impunity of the armed rabble at the back of the city, wished again for war, and extolled Lin as their hero.

With the cessation of the operations against Canton, it was remarkable that a complete change took place simultaneously in the chief actors on both sides; and the scene of war was transferred to another quarter. The mo-

ment Sir Henry Pottinger arrived, and announced his intention of proceeding to the north, the Canton prefect, Yu (who had been the agent with the armed multitude on the 26th May), proceeded post haste to Macao, for the purpose of dissuading the new plenipotentiary from a step which threatened disgrace and disaster to all the Canton authorities. The confidence with which this was undertaken only added to the astonishment and dismay, when the prefect, bustling and forward, was very properly refused even an audience. Mortified and snubbed in a manner so very new to Chinese vanity, the unfortunate dignitary posted back to report his ill-success, and inform his superiors that, in lieu of their favourite expedient, delay, they were to expect a course of active and vigorous measures, and in distant quarters where they had not yet tried their formidable antagonists. But when it appeared that the expedition to the north could not be prevented, they endeavoured to palliate it by the old resource of misrepresentation. The governor of Canton reported to the emperor that he "had heard some rumours of the intention of the barbarians to proceed north,

which he believed to be an idle tale; but would in the mean while be watchful; and accordingly should place people on the look out, to give instant notice when they saw the fleet getting under way." He had in fact been positively informed of the plenipotentiary's intention, and done his best to prevent it. The lesson which the Canton authorities had received was likely to act as a check to farther acts of aggression in violation of the truce, notwithstanding what Sir Henry Pottinger very truly designated as "the well understood perfidy and bad faith" of the Chinese officers. Eventually this perfidy and bad faith were not exhibited in any more offensive shape than the attempt to block up and fortify the river, a work in which they were interrupted by some of Her Majesty's ships.

In a despatch to the authorities of Amoy, the Canton functionary warned them to be on their guard, as the English had taken possession of some junks, in which they would probably slip clandestinely into the harbour; seeming to imply that the squadron of liners, frigates, and steamers would not venture be-

fore the formidable batteries. There is little to wonder at in the fate of a government where one set of officers, after having felt the real power of an enemy, conveyed such information as this, by way of preparation, to another set. At this point our official intercourse with the Canton government almost entirely ceased until the close of hostilities, more than a year afterwards. The local mandarins, as well as the people, seemed henceforth to take little more interest in the war than if it had been waged in another country. Commerce revived, and was actively conducted at Canton, while we were fighting a few hundred miles to the north-east. The people minded their own business, and tranquillity was for some time restored to the provincial city.

The worse than inefficient character of the government of the country was singularly proved, about this time, with reference to the great river Yangtsekeang. The court of Peking, in calculating the chances of the future, naturally wished to ascertain how far that river was accessible to an enemy's fleet, and, accordingly, a circular order was ad-

dressed to the marine authorities in the neighbourhood to sound, and make their reports as to the results. There soon appeared a number of papers from different quarters, all agreeing in this one point, that the difficulties of the entrance were such, the mud-banks and other dangers so innumerable, that no large ship could possibly venture up. That all should coincide in this was somewhat surprising, and could only arise from the wish to flatter the emperor, and lull his apprehension with a notion of the invulnerability of the country in that important quarter. Perhaps, if some honest and fearless man had written that the Yangtse would really be entered, that several British vessels had, in fact, only in the last year, gone up a considerable distance, he would have been set down as a traitor, favourable to the enemy. The actual governor-general of the two Keang provinces was among the foremost to report on the perfect security of the great river, and with this high authority the emperor was satisfied.

About the spring of 1841, there was an announcement of some Russian officer, accompanied by Cossacks, having arrived at Hamil,

in Chinese Toorkistan. Their intentions were never officially made known, but rumour gave out that they had come to discipline the Chinese soldiers, and teach them gunnery. The official paper did not in any way allude to this; but the imperial edict, promulgated on the occasion, directed that they should be sent back, and conveyed from station to station on their return. The dread of foreigners was so great at the time, that even some shipwrecked Coreans, picked up on the coast of Keangnân, were treated as very suspicious characters, but, after a long investigation, sent home to their country. The numerous occurrences of the kind evinced the anxious state of feeling at the Peking Court. If the Chinese documents were to be believed, there came an offer of alliance, at this time, from the Ghorkas, called by the Chinese *Kih-urh-kih*. These had been in the habit, for some years, of considering the Celestial Empire as the greatest protecting power to which they, as a small state, could appeal. Had the fortune of the British arms in China been different from the actual event, the present occasion might have appeared favourable for making a diversion into

the adjacent territory of India. In this they would not have stood single, for it appears that the Burmese monarch made actual proposals of the kind, as well as the Cochin Chinese. But previous to any overt acts, these respective parties prudently waited for some brilliant and decisive success on the part of the Chinese arms, under which circumstances it was not likely that they would very soon be called upon. Had defeat, however, instead of unchecked success, attended us in China, an array of enemies might have appeared in India equal to the most sinister anticipations.

Regarding the negotiations with the Ghorkas, there is a full and explicit paper, drawn up by the Manchow minister resident at L'hassa, — a functionary who, in fact, rules Thibet on the part of the Chinese emperor. "The land of the Ghorkas is to the south-west of Szechuen*, and borders upon India. Our connection with this country dates from the 55th year of Kien-

* Szechuen and its capital are the points of communication between China and L'hassa. The itinerary of MM. Huc and Gabet enables us to trace the route very distinctly along the alpine country that prevails throughout the whole course.

loong (1791), when they sent a tribute-bearer to congratulate the emperor on his having attained his 70th year. The Banchen-Enderi (a high priest of equal authority with the grand lama in Thibet) died at Peking, and his elder brother became his successor. Some troubles having arisen as to taxation, our troops, who were sent to interfere, did not act as they were ordered. The Ghorkas unexpectedly declared that they had large claims on Thibet, and invaded that country. There they committed great robberies in the temples; but, when laden with booty and returning to their homes, our troops were already in full array, and surrounded them in the mountains. Hunger and cold had, in the meanwhile, reduced their numbers; no less than two thousand porters died of starvation, and they therefore surrendered to our general, with the condition that all the captured spoil should be restored. From this moment dates our ascendancy in this country, and the paramount influence which we have never failed to retain. We at once constituted ourselves their protectors, while 3000 native troops, and 1000 Chinese and Mongols gave weight to our influence.

Since that time the Ghorkas have never ceased to bring tribute.

" Upon hearing, in the twentieth year of Taoukwang (1840), that their neighbours, the English, had commenced hostile operations against our country, the nation sent an envoy to me, the resident minister at L'hassa. This officer stated that their country bordered on 'London.' (The English capital put for the 'English nation.') As they had been frequently insulted by their neighbours, they desired to join their forces to the troops of the Celestial Empire, to share in their victories.

" The country of the Ghorkas is conterminous with India. Now, it is in that country they grow opium, whence the English derive many thousands of revenue annually. It would therefore be advisable to encourage the Ghorkas in order to make a diversion, and by disturbing that region deprive the barbarians of the sources whence their riches arise."

In consequence of this memorial, the Ghorkas were exhorted to do their best; but receiving mere advice and fair words, in lieu of substantial subsidies and auxiliary troops, they of course did nothing; and no doubt came to the

conclusion that it was better to have the English for friends than enemies. The minister at L'hassa, however, wrote to Peking for twenty-two guns. The governor of Szechuen received an order to have these cast, and they were transported with immense labour and cost over the mountainous road between that province and L'hassa, and placed in various parts of Thibet. The army also was increased, and the Lesser Thibet constituted a Chinese dependency. The Sikhs subsequently invaded Thibet. On this occasion the Chinese functionary himself marched forth against them. In his report he observed, that "he found them securely encamped, and notwithstanding his summons, they offered obstinate resistance. About four hundred men were then sent to attack the enemy, and killed forty of their number, and the rest were dispersed; but as few survived of the invaders, they may be said to have been destroyed."

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTURE OF AMOY. — HISTORY OF THE MONGOL TARTAR YUKIEN.

THE ill effects of the late typhoon at Hong-kong, and in its neighbourhood, upon the naval squadron were repaired by the British admiral with characteristic energy and speed; and towards the end of August, 1841, the force was on its way towards effective operations on the north-east coast. The Canton authorities contrived ingeniously to convey some impression to Peking that this move was the consequence of their own prowess, the "barbarians" being unable to accomplish anything more at Canton. "The new military chief," they added, "was dissatisfied with the amount of indemnity obtained, and had, therefore, no alternative except to proceed towards Peking." As soon as the British force had quitted, war was to be waged against Hong-kong. The magistrate of the opposite district of Singan, on the mainland of China, reported that "marauders had set fire to the houses of

both the English and the traitorous natives connected with them, and had, moreover, plundered the English of all their money." Encouraged by this false intelligence, the Canton authorities condescended secretly to distribute about 200 matchlocks, or old muskets, among the piratical vagabonds in the neighbourhood. This was their mode of making war, and the policy for which they are now paying so dearly; while the small British force retained at Hongkong was more than sufficient for all possible attempts against it.

As soon as the emperor learned that the expedition was really proceeding northward, he addressed a circular edict to all the officers on the coast, saying, "I commanded the governors and lieutenant-governors to proceed with their troops to the extermination of the English. Yihshan, at Canton, has now burned and destroyed their vessels, and they have therefore left that neighbourhood. Let the respective officers separately send their advice how to reduce the remaining squadron. Either traitorous natives, or the barbarians themselves, spread a rumour that they were proceeding with a large fleet to Chĕkeang.

Months, however, have elapsed since this was said, and it must therefore be an idle report, set afloat to mislead the people. But, on account of the fickle and astute nature of the barbarians, it behoves us to be on the watch. There are about 15,000 soldiers in Chĕkeang, a number insufficient to guard the coast; it will therefore become necessary to raise a militia to fall on the enemy and exterminate them."

But the enemy was upon them before the cumbrous and ineffective machinery could be set in motion. The old European port of Amoy had displayed a greater spirit of preparation than any other place on the coast. The natives there are familiar with foreigners, and not only trade with, but emigrate in great numbers to the colonies of the Indian archipelago. The government therefore felt some alarm at their proneness to coalesce with the invaders, and hence a more watchful look out at that particular point. This harbour formed the chief naval station on the coast, the Fokien squadron being deemed superior to all others in the empire. The Chinese admiral, however, on hearing of the approach of the English, was suddenly seized with a burning zeal

to cruise after pirates elsewhere, which fully accounted for his not "exterminating the invading force." *

A surprising change had taken place in the defences of Amoy since Captain Bourchier gave them a lesson in the Blonde frigate. The wall was indeed a real wall, not "with a little lime, and a little rough-cast about it, to signify wall." An enormous stone rampart of many hundred yards in length, extended from the nearest extremity of the town eastward to the entrance of the harbour. Instead of embrasures, this was pierced with small port-holes, which consulted the safety of the defenders much more than the destruction of the enemy. It was hardly possible to train the guns out of the straight line either way; but the wall at least was altogether shot-proof against the heaviest lower deck guns of the line-of-battle ships;

* I was received by this gentleman at Amoy in 1844, on returning in H.M. Ship Castor, from a survey of the new ports and consulates. He contrived to play his cards so well as to retain his command; and though no hero, he proved a very polite and obliging acquaintance. He might be almost excused for his extreme disinclination to meet the broadsides of the Blenheim and Wellesley in the miserable craft which he commanded.

being protected, in addition to its immense thickness, by banks of earth on the outside, bound with sods. Had the Chinese known only half as well how to annoy us as to protect themselves, the result might have been very different. After two hours of hammering from the whole squadron, nothing was done, and scarcely a casualty suffered on the British side. Troops were then landed to escalade, which was immediately effected on the left flank of the long wall. The enemy were easily driven along the whole line of the rampart, and their commandant, seeing all was lost, very deliberately walked into the sea in front, and drowned himself *in conspectu classis.*

The arsenals at Amoy were found filled with a vast amount of arms and ammunition; the gunpowder, especially, in great quantities. To give more effect to the preparations, the new governor-general of the two provinces, *Yen Tagin*, had come in person, and was present on the day of the capture. With the usual Chinese confidence he had, unluckily for himself, anticipated all by a despatch to the emperor, in which a grandiloquent account was given of the preparations to receive the En-

glish. The forts, he said, were so constructed as to envelope the hostile fleet immediately in one destructive fire, and leave no means of escape. He applied for an additional number of troops to line all the works, and calculated the large expenditure that would be required to maintain them. Instead of tamely standing behind stone walls, he recommended, as the only measure worthy of so great a nation, that an army should be raised sufficient to fall upon the invaders, and by one tremendous attack destroy them for ever.

This functionary had done all in his power to rouse the feeling of the people against the British. But the most surprising apathy was displayed on their part throughout the war, everywhere except at Canton, the ancient seat of a deep-seated animosity against foreigners, from whom, however, the place has derived all its wealth and consequence. The efforts of *Yen Tagin* entirely failed. For large pay thousands were ready to enlist, and then desert on the first appearance of danger; but there were no volunteers. He held a review of the whole body of troops, gave orders how they should be drawn up, and superseding the

military mandarins in the command, exhorted the soldiers as to their duty. This intermixture of military with civil functions, if we may judge by the experience of the war, does not seem to work well in practice. The governor himself, though a bad soldier, was an excellent scholar. When, on the capture of Amoy, he fled precipitately to the adjacent mainland, his residence was found filled with every description of statistical work relating to the two provinces of Chĕkeang and Fokien.

When the British force first approached, he had addressed the inhabitants in a hurried proclamation, calling on them to arm *en masse.* He then despatched a mean looking fellow to the admiral's ship (under the old pretext of mistaking military intentions for commercial), to ask what goods there were for the market. When this was answered by a discharge of the iron freight, and the bombardment commenced in earnest, he mounted a height, from whence he could overlook the whole scene; and then finding that the enemy not only remained unharmed, but ended by landing and storming the defences, thought it was high time *déloger sans trompette.*

The account which he despatched to the emperor, of the loss of the place, was as veracious as usual: —"I myself," said he, "led on our soldiers to battle. We sunk one of their steamers and five ships of war by our terrible fire; but the barbarians returned it; the south wind blew the smoke into our soldiers' eyes, and Amoy was thus lost." In another paper it was stated, that "the English on their arrival sent many hundreds of Chinese traitors on shore, who fell (on a given signal) upon the soldiers and killed them," — the Chinese being beat only by Chinese. This senseless system of lying, and of dissembling the real facts, had no other effect than to prevent the government from benefiting by experience.

The emperor's reply was, "Amoy is the key to Fokien province. Yen and the admiral of the station must regain possession of it. For this purpose leave is given to raise a sufficient body of militia, and troops will also march to their assistance. But the governor must be careful to defend the metropolis *Foochow*, and instead of engaging the barbarians by sea, wait until they land. In the meanwhile his conduct, and that of the military commanders who did

not maintain their ground, is to be considered by the Board of Punishments."

Immediately opposite to the town of Amoy, and forming the south side of the harbour, is a small island, just a mile in length, called *Koolangsoo*. As it completely commands the town, it was determined to leave a small force on that island, which was capable of easy defence, and not to occupy Amoy itself, while the expedition moved on to Chusan. This enabled the wily mandarins to regain all their credit with the emperor. A few days afterwards, when the bulk of the force had sailed away to the north, there appeared a splendid account of the complete victory gained over the barbarians; not a word was said of the occupation of Koolangsoo, but an account given of the militia raised, the alacrity of all to serve the emperor, and the repeated attacks on the barbarians. "Amoy (wrote the governor) is now again in our possession, and a few foreign ships on the water cause no apprehension." These reports caused the most lively satisfaction to the emperor, and he restored the degraded officers to their former rank.

But the real injury to the place was done by the Chinese. The rabble and the pirates, as numerous as ants, soon gained the upper hand. Several large public granaries were eviscerated, every inhabited house plundered, and the citadel itself robbed of its contents. The determination of these fellows, their cunning perseverance and alacrity in taking advantage of the confusion, were beyond all example, and might have been meritorious in a better cause.

To keep up the delusion at Peking respecting the discomfiture and departure of the English, it was necessary not to say a word of Koolangsoo, which formed the south side of the harbour of Amoy, and was now in quiet possession of a British garrison. No attempt whatever was made to disturb this little island. A tacit armistice existed, and supplies to the small force quartered there continued without interruption. A ludicrous mistake occurred as a consequence of Chinese ignorance of our customs. It had long been a hope of the government that other foreign nations would quarrel with the English for their aggression on China. It happened that an American ship

of war entered Amoy harbour, and a report was transmitted to Peking, that the hostility between the two nations must be very inveterate, for the English commenced firing (a salute) the moment the American appeared, and this was soon returned by the latter with great spirit.

The people in and around Amoy had been so long acquainted with our merchants in the Malay archipelago, that they showed very little fear or distrust of the troops. They rationally inferred that no ill-feeling could exist towards themselves when no provocation had been offered; and the conduct of the force justified their hopes, for they found in our ships and troops, not oppressors, but protectors. The pirates, who at one time had been very destructive, were effectually kept in check. Changchowfoo, a city farther up the estuary, remained tranquil and safe, and the merchant junks kept up their intercourse with Formosa, on the opposite side of the strait, unmolested.

In this manner the emperor was for a time completely deceived in regard to the real command of Amoy retained by the English; but

he must at length have obtained at least a suspicion of it, for the governor was ultimately punished for his bold, though unfulfilled, promises to destroy the invaders. The admiral was spared, on the ground of having been absent on duty when the attack upon the place occurred, and he escaped with some years' loss of pay. A retired mandarin, by religion a Mahomedan, who had erected for himself a splendid mansion in the Chinese style near Amoy, with artificial lakes, rivers, and hills, fled to Foo-chow, the capital, on the attack. His premises suffered severely from the Chinese plunderers in his absence; but on returning to his shattered domicile, which had been the care and expense of so many years, he smiled and said, "it was his *ming* — his destiny."

The fate of Amoy was a severe blow to those ignorant and fool-hardy counsellors who had promoted the struggle; and they became sensible to the cost of the reckoning when a demand was forwarded from the province to Peking for 3,000,000 taels as absolutely necessary to defray expenses. Scarcely had this been received, when a requisition came from another of the maritime provinces for 5,900,000

taels, which had been expended in preparations since the renewal of hostilities. Then was added an estimate from Chĕkeang, in which it appeared that 1,500,000 taels had just been spent, and 1,000,000 would soon be required. This was an entire reversal of financial operations; for it was the usual business of the provinces to remit their surplus revenues to Peking, instead of making drafts upon it.

Subsequent to Keshen's disgrace, the emperor, in the first ebullition of imperial wrath, had directed that no expense should be spared in putting the country into a state of defence. The mandarins, who were in no wise loth to be the ministers of this liberality, contrived to embezzle thousands for themselves; until the most ardent well-wishers for their country's glory, and the destruction of the barbarians, could not fail to admit that the maintenance of their principles was a most costly undertaking, and that every successive month must bring a heavy addition to the account. It became too clear, moreover, to all discerning persons, that Amoy, with its vast defensive operations, having thus fallen, the English might, with equal ease, capture other places;

and though no one dared to express his fears of such a contingency, there were already not a few who began to alter their views of the contest.

The various schemes now proposed for the safety of the country rivalled each other in absurdity, and betrayed only the ignorance of their authors, or the weakness of the empire. But they all agreed in their cowardly or perfidious character. By one, the enemy were to be involved in dense clouds of smoke, and attacked in the confusion; by another, expert divers were to destroy the rudders of the ships, or bore holes in their bottoms. The emperor soon got tired of such unprofitable counsellors, and began to perceive the real difficulties of his position. The worst feature of all was that vagabond and predatory character of his own undisciplined forces, which made them an infinitely worse scourge to the country than the enemy themselves. The edict promulgated at this time observed: "To prove victorious over the foreigners it is necessary to ensure tranquillity at home. It appears that the troops, in their progress through the provinces, have subjected the people to

great hardships and oppression, and given rise to discontents, the consequences of which may prove disastrous. Let the strictest discipline be maintained, nor the slightest licence allowed under any circumstances to the soldiers. While calling upon persons of property along the coast to come forward, and promising rewards to the zealous, the extortions of the mandarins, under the name of patriotic gifts, are strictly prohibited. In order to oppose the enemy, the people must not be oppressed; their services must be voluntary, and not forced from them by threats."

Some one in the west of China, who had never seen the sea, even proposed, as a measure of precaution, that sulphur and saltpetre should be prohibited as exports, and the enemy thus cut off from supplies of gunpowder. As if this had not been sufficiently childish and preposterous, orders were seriously issued to to that effect, and punishment of death denounced on their infraction. That "knowledge is power" was fully proved by the converse of the proposition among the Chinese, among whom we found statesmen proposing, and the government paying dearly for mea-

sures, founded on a degree of ignorance for which a schoolboy would be whipped in England. The peace was hastened, not more by the really formidable character of the British expedition, than by the universal anarchy and confusion that reigned internally; by the entire failure of every scheme grounded in ignorance, and defeated by its own folly; and, in fine, by the apprehension of a general revolution against the government, which was losing its hold on the minds of the people.

The individual who acquired the most disgraceful notoriety during the war, by his cruel and perfidious character, was Yukien, whose career was fortunately as brief as it was atrocious, but whose history demands some notice, if it were only that his name should be gibbeted with the infamy it deserves. He was a Mongol by birth, and belonged to a family which had done some service in the war with Toorkistan. Yukien had found a congenial colleague in Lin, the author of the war, equalling him in his hatred of the foreigners, but far excelling him in the bloodthirsty and tiger-like character of his measures against them.

With the progress of the British squadron towards Chusan and Chinhae, the time was fast approaching when his fate should be added to that of others of a like stamp, who almost all, without exception, atoned by a violent and sometimes self-inflicted death for their remorseless and sanguinary conduct.

When Yukien saw the war approaching his own doors, he had still presumption enough left to counsel uncompromising and lasting hostility, until the barbarians had been reduced to submission, and driven to ask forgiveness. His cry was for their blood, and he desired "to flay them alive, and sleep on their skins." Half of this vow the wretch unhappily accomplished in a single instance. Mr. Stead, master of a transport which had been despatched direct from England to Chusan, approached that island in ignorance that it had been evacuated by the British force. He unfortunately landed on his way at Keto Point, a promontory of the mainland to the southward of Chusan harbour, and being enticed some distance into the interior, was seized, bound, and delivered over to Yukien. This was deemed such a prize, that the commissioner,

overjoyed at his good fortune, wrote immediately to the emperor, boasting of the deed, and coupling it with what he styled the "recapture" of Chusan. The reply decreed that Yukien should for his merits receive a two-eyed peacock's plume, and become one of the guardians of the imperial heir; that the general commanding the troops should receive a reward, and the inferior mandarins be promoted. Yukien had now leisure to wreak his hatred and vengeance on the unfortunate victim, and make of him, as he termed it, an example to the barbarians. The prisoner was tied to a stake in the middle of the public place, deliberately flayed alive, and then cut in pieces. The most depraved of the natives were horror-struck at this spectacle, and there reigned throughout the town an ominous silence, and a forecast of coming events. Vengeance was subsequently taken by a sloop-of-war at the spot where Mr. Stead had been kidnapped, and Yukien himself had not long to boast of his wickedness.

The fury of this man towards the English amounted to a mania, and reacted on his own countrymen, as well as his colleagues in office.

Whoever could show that he had done some injury to the foreigners was his friend; but any one who even hinted at peace or compromise was doomed by him to destruction. The person whom he most hated was Eleepoo, the professed advocate of peace, and one who had refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of his English prisoners. Yukien busied himself day and night in plotting the ruin of his detested colleague, and had well nigh succeeded; but a rapid succession of events led to his own destruction, and to the triumph of those pacific counsels which it had been his business to decry and oppose.

In one of his official memorials he betrayed a portion of that gross ignorance of foreign relations in which his presumption and his blunders were principally founded. "As all the barbarians," said he, "pay tribute to the English for the opium, they likewise sail under their flag, and are confounded by us with them. When the English had delivered up the opium, they considered themselves disgraced in the eyes of all western nations if they did not obtain an indemnity for it. Hence the present war, and all its evil conse-

quences. Were the indemnity the only point in question, the remedy would be easy; but no terms should be granted to this nation until the opium traffic is destroyed and their gains from it cut off. Let us beggar them first, and then grant them peace out of mere compassion, but never succumb to force." In the same paper, this compound of Tiberius and Bobadil gave himself credit for an immense fund of valour and good conduct. Most unfortunately for himself, he was taken at his word, for the emperor fixed on him as the fit and proper defender of the country. He was invested with plenipotentiary powers, and his old acquaintance Lin given to him as a congenial colleague. Luckily for the latter, he was soon afterwards transferred to the charge of the Yellow River, which is certainly an unapproachable part of the country, by sea at least.

The accident of Yukien's reaching his post just as the British force was evacuating Chusan in 1841, had served to feed his presumptuous hopes and promote his scheme of self-aggrandisement. When quite sure that not one English vessel was left in the neighbourhood,

he gave out more than hints that the fear of his presence had hurried their departure. He especially favoured the idea of a general rising of the people against the invaders, should they return, and seemed particularly desirous to inspire the race of fishermen on the coast with an ardent zeal to oppose them. His attempts at popularity, however, were considerably neutralised by his arbitrary conduct, and by the natural cruelty and brutality of his disposition when his anger was roused. He was deficient, too, in another element of popularity. When paying for public services, he was too sparing of public money; and as the war proved that few were actuated by disinterested patriotism, his adherents and assistants fell gradually from him.

On the side of defensive measures, however, he displayed unusual alacrity and diligence. A great number of brass guns were cast, which in the mere value of the material proved no mean capture subsequently to the British force. Among other works, an enormous rampart was built with earth and sods along the whole sea-line in front of the city at Chusan. By way of troops, he collected all he could get,

including ruffians and vagabonds of every description. In fact, his expenses for their maintenance got to such a head that the emperor recommended a curtailment of the enlistment bill. This, however, Yukien evaded "It is in the nature of the barbarians," said he, "to fear the strong but insult the weak. Gain being the sole object of their efforts, unless they can trade with China, their subsistence fails. Since their appearance at the mouth of the Peiho, there is no crime too flagitious for them to commit. Hence your Majesty justly observed that heaven and earth would no longer endure them; that gods and men joined in detestation of this race. It is well, therefore, that the great emperor intends to display celestial terror in annihilating them with his armies, for their grasping propensity would otherwise know no bounds. If we are not very strenuous in our exertions, they will make of Chusan another Hongkong. Nothing remains to us, therefore, but to delay disbanding our forces, and fall upon them forthwith."

It does not appear that Yukien called for the assistance of his own countrymen, the

Mongols, a vast herd of nomades inured to fatigue. Dr. Gutzlaff remarks, in his notes, that none of the emperor's advisers alluded to them, though they are the reputed auxiliaries of the Chinese empire, and explains it by their unwillingness to "engage the tiger to drive out the wolf," an old Chinese expression in reference to them. We have since found, however, that whatever may have been the reasons for not employing them farther south,—perhaps the distance,—they were actually raised and stationed at Tientsin, as a reserve in the event of Peking being threatened.*

Yukien's elation on Chusan being evacuated by the English force had encouraged him to heap vituperation upon Keshen, infinitely his superior in discretion and ability. In a memorial to the throne, he termed him "a weak coward, who trembled for the capital at the sight of a few ships in the Yellow Sea; who supplied the barbarians with oxen to pamper their insolence; and sacrificed the dignity of the Great Empire in placing it on a level with foreign states. In opposition to previous

* M. Huc's "Souvenirs d'un Voyage," &c. vol. i. p. 54.

facts, when the Chinese under Lin's administration burned their shipping, inspiring terror among them, Keshen still maintained that the strength of the military force at Canton was decayed. The entrance of the Bogue was closed with a chain, and cannon displayed from eight extensive batteries; yet did this traitor Keshen allow the first to be broken, and the second captured. And then he made a peace with a mere chief of merchants, and, being himself a minister of state, used an opium smuggler, a comprador of one of the exiled English, as the principal inter-nuncio. Such a degradation China never before underwent."

In another report Yukien deeply lamented that the precipitate retreat of the barbarians prevented his taking Chusan sword in hand. As long, however, as their movements were uncertain he proposed to garrison that island with a strong force, and erect fortifications which would render its re-occupation a matter of impossibility. When quite certain that the coast was clear, we have seen that he went over in person. He then vaunted to the emperor the terror which his mere name had inspired. He professed that the sight of the

demolished houses touched him to the quick, the more so that the people approached in crowds and craved food and shelter. These he declared he had relieved. His next care was to punish "traitorous natives," among whom he struck off the heads of three, and displayed them along the sea-shore *in terrorem*. The one was an individual who had supplied the British admiral with provisions ; the second, an excellent and benevolent old man who had merely interceded with the British in behalf of his townsmen in Tinghae; and the third was the person who had pointed out the family of the kidnapper of Major Anstruther. In lack of living enemies on whom to exercise his revengeful mania, Yukien turned his attention to the dead. He ordered the bones of our numerous soldiers who perished of disease at Chusan to be disinterred, thrown into quick-lime, and then cast into the sea. The grave-stone of the brave Lieutenant Colonel of the Cameronians he caused to be placed before his own door, that every one might tread on it. It must be reluctantly confessed that all this was partly in retaliation for the violence which had been done by some of our own people to

the most cherished prejudices of the Chinese, in disturbing their graves, during the occupation of the island.

In his report to Peking he declared that, "about a thousand English soldiers died in the city in consequence of drinking the water which the inhabitants had poisoned. I, in every part, dug up their corpses, severed the heads from the trunks, and cut them in pieces. The inhabitants who so meritoriously exerted themselves to accelerate the death of the enemy by poison, ought to be rewarded for their patriotism; and I subjoin their names.* When I reflect that among the whole population scarcely one traitor was found to afford the smallest aid to the barbarians, I find their conduct so meritorious, that I would beseech your majesty to bestow an honourable title on the island. For my having wreaked vengeance on the dead, I plead the necessity of satisfying

* All this seems very circumstantial; but if our men were really poisoned by the water, how did so many instances escape the penetration of the numerous army surgeons, who do not seem to have suspected any thing of the kind. It is far easier to believe that the Chinese Commissioner exercised his ordinary vocation of lying, than that the surgeons did not understand their business.

the departed spirits of those numerous tombs which the barbarians had disturbed.

"From all I have been able to learn, they made a virtue of necessity in giving up the island: the climate did not suit, their forces were wasted away by harrowing disease, and, if vigorously attacked, they would not have been able to defend themselves. Under such circumstances, we may consider their retreat as the most prudent measure, and allow no credit to either Eleepoo or Keshen. It redounds much to the honour of the inhabitants that they formed themselves into bands to disquiet the English during the night; and should they ever venture to return, the same people will leave them no rest either day or night.

"Chusan has now attained an importance which it had not before. It is the key to our empire on the opposite main, and we ought therefore to spare no expence in fortifying and protecting it. For this purpose I recommend the sending a strong body of maritime troops here, who may alternately serve on board the junks, and garrison the city. The old guns are either destroyed by rust or have been dis-

abled by the invaders. I would, therefore, provide a numerous amount of artillery, so as to give us the effectual command of all headlands and promontories. Between this and Chinhae not a single position should be left bare, but every thing so regulated, that the enemy's ships cannot pass without exposing themselves to a destructive fire. We should have a squadron of the best junks built in Fokien; what we had before were defective, and their construction must be greatly improved. The natives of Chusan we must attach by lasting ties. I, therefore, advise remitting them the land-tax, which they still owe; raising the group of islands into an independent district; increasing the number of patents to literary candidates; and rewarding the most deserving among them with honours." These several suggestions appear to have been approved.

When every thing had been arranged, the commissioner addressed a valedictory notice to the people of Chusan, in which he remarked, "Our country having for a long time enjoyed peace, the military had greatly fallen off in efficiency. Our troops were subsequently too

tardy in their operations, and hence the English remained half a year in possession of Chusan. You yourselves were scattered about in the valleys, and had to feed these wolves with your cattle. Though far away at the time, I was deeply interested in your sufferings; and on repairing to Chinhae had intended to sacrifice Anstruther and the other prisoners, enter the barbarian camp, seize Burrell*, and fix the heads of the invaders on poles along the beach. But they had already escaped the net, and I had no means of inflicting the punishment. During the time of the occupation you behaved well, and, though unarmed, withstood their encroachments with hoes, hatchets, and clubs. I come to fortify your island, and relieve you for ever from the disgrace of becoming a prey to the enemy. The benevolence of the great emperor has remitted your taxes, gathered those that were lost among you, and contributed to relieve your distresses."

Yukien now hastened back to Chinhae,

* The officer who commanded the land force on the first capture of Chusan.

where he endeavoured to block the entrance of the Ningpo river by sunken junks, and erected fortifications on the shore. While engaged in this work, he addressed to the emperor a diffuse account of the shallowness of the coast, which he declared could not be approached by the British ships. "It would be necessary," said he, "to send the troops in boats, and we might kill them with ease the moment they put their feet on shore." He added, besides, that some parts of maritime China were perfectly inaccessible, and therefore needed no defence, while at other points low batteries might be constructed to sink all those small vessels which alone could effect a landing. All these matters being elucidated in detail, gave the highest satisfaction at Peking. There arose a renewed feeling of complete security; so willing are men to believe what they wish to be true. The representations of Yukien were confirmed by the collateral testimony of other high officers, among whom now, for the first time, appears the name of KEYING, at the period in question commanding in Manchouria, and therefore concerned in the protection of the coast.

Yukien's fame now became very great, for he had attained that monstrous *Eureka*, the invincible position of the Chinese empire. Taoukwang rejoiced at the prospect of discomfiting the invaders, and all the honour went to the credit of Yukien, the only man in the empire who, it was considered, had his eyes open: Another edict appeared, ordering the vigorous prosecution of the war at all costs and hazards, and proscribing the word peace as long as there remained a single enemy on the coast.

CHAPTER VII.

RECAPTURE OF CHUSAN TO TAKING OF CHINHAE, AND DEATH OF YUKIEN.

THE rumours of the future movements of the British force varied considerably, but no official person dared to announce that their next destination would be Chusan. Yukien himself discredited all that was reported, more especially when he was informed that the English were coming to take vengeance for the cruel murder of Mr. Stead. In a memorial to the emperor he treated all this as mere foolish talk, and derided the impudence of the barbarians who could dare to speak in such terms. At the maritime stations and towns he exhibited notices, which averred that the enemy had never ventured to accept his challenge to meet them, and expressed his great disappointment thereat. "Let them presume to come," it was added, "and they will surely be caught in the net." That none of the invaders might escape, he ordered his soldiers

to reserve their fire until the assailants were close to them, avowing his intention to give the example and lead them in person.

Contrary winds delayed the British squadron among the islands south of Chusan, and the first account of their approach was conveyed by the fishermen on the coast. Few were found ready to communicate the unwelcome tidings to the enraged Yukien, but some warlike measures soon sounded the alarm. The Nemesis steamer having gone for fuel into Shih-poo (her coals being exhausted), was fired upon, in consequence of which she stormed and took the battery, driving the garrison with severe loss into the country. The Phlegethon, also, devastated the place where Mr. Stead had been kidnapped. The cruel but cowardly Yukien now felt something like apprehension. He wrote to the emperor that "rumours had been spread of his having flayed two barbarians alive; but he had only taken a prisoner and decapitated him; and it was for this that the English were coming to take vengeance—an absurd report without the slightest foundation. There is, however, some unfathomable scheme in pros-

pect: it behoves us to be on our guard and await them patiently. As Chusan and Chinhae are very strongly guarded, they will probably go to some other place to create a disturbance. I, therefore, proceeded to Shanghae to make the necessary preparations, lest in attending to one part of our territory we might lose another. It is of great importance to provide enough rice for the districts which stand in need of it, and the merchants have therefore obtained permission to export it freely.* Thus I hope to counteract any rising spirit of disaffection, being confident that the above measures will remove all cause for anxiety."

The reply from Peking was very short. It observed that, "Every one ought strenuously to defend his country; but, from the late encounter at Amoy, it had been proved that the barbarians knew how to fight on shore as well as at sea. On that account large bodies of troops must be concentrated to resist the invaders." This was the first indication of hesitation or doubt as to the justness of Yukien's

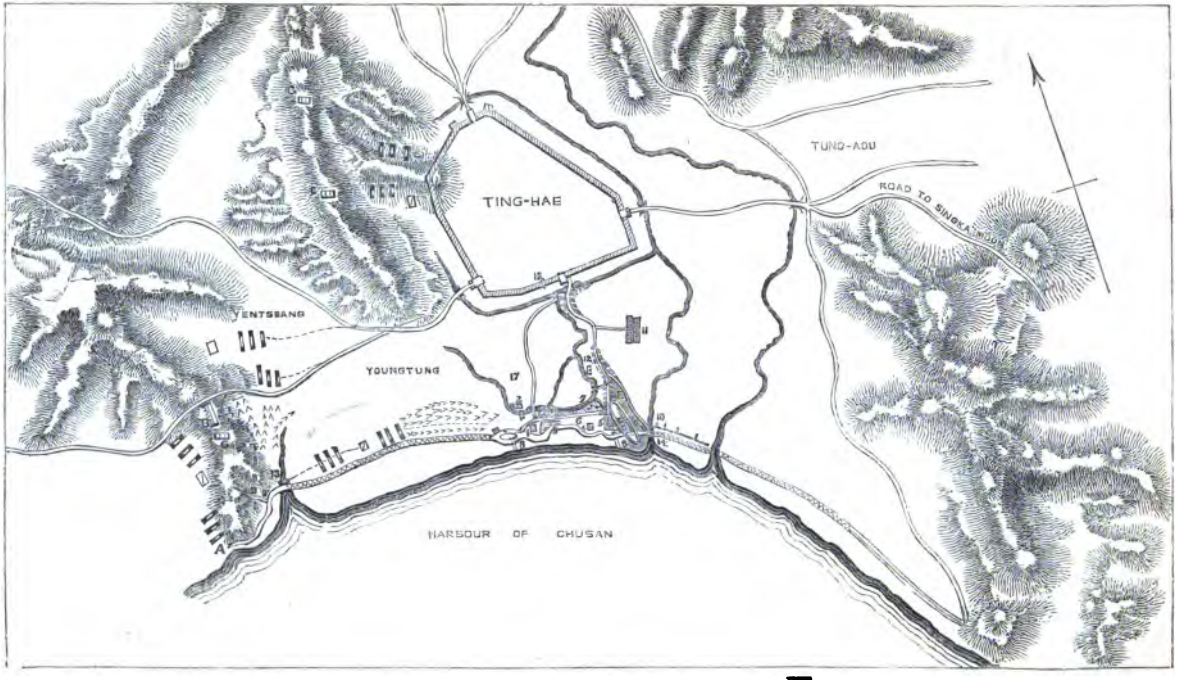
* The export trade had been prohibited.

views. That faithful and well-informed minister had flattered the imperial hopes, by representing that the British soldiers were too stiff in the limbs for any service on shore, and that whole regiments of them might be destroyed very easily.

The commissioner now renewed his defensive measures. From the wreck of the small vessel *Kite*, two carronades had been saved by the Chinese. Some letters or inscription upon these pieces were considered to be of a cabalistic nature, endowing them with magic power, and with that unerring aim which experience had proved the English guns to possess. In a paper which was found, written by Yukien himself, the supposed meaning and effect of these mysterious characters were treated of, and the commissioner caused some pieces to be cast forthwith, imitating as exactly as possible the guns and the letters upon them. These, however, being of the usual honeycombed description of metal, one of them burst, and killed five of the assistants. With a view to add to his force, a larger number of militia was enlisted. An old proposal, that a portion of the force should surprise the

enemy, under the disguise of merchants, was broached and gained ground. In all these childish devices, the reigning idea seems to be the reconcilement of personal safety with damage to the enemy.

At length the dismal tidings arrived that the British force had actually approached close to Chusan. All the plans for opposing or exterminating the barbarians seemed now to be lost in a general consternation. Yukien neither took nourishment nor slept for several days and nights, but remained in sullen silence, inaccessible to his officers. His spirits then seemed to revive; he issued a flaming proclamation, rousing his people to exertion; but at the same time no succours were sent to Chusan. There the preparations had been completed according to Chinese notions, and the whole force in the island amounted nominally to 10,000 men. This body was commanded by three generals, who certainly showed their willingness to defend their post to the last. But they were not more veracious than the rest of their countrymen. When the two steamers Nemesis and Phlegethon entered the harbour to reconnoitre,



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one of the three fired the first gun himself, and, on the steamers rejoining the squadron, hoping, perhaps, they had run away, reported that he had sunk one and carried away the mast of the other. This was forwarded to Yukien, who forthwith wrote to Peking, describing the bravery of the troops, their complete victory, and the annihilation of the barbarian van. The emperor immediately promoted the general, and decreed him the peacock's plume; but when the reward was bestowed the aspirant was no longer in this world.

The immense earthen work with embrasures at intervals, extending along the whole sea-line in front of the town of Tinghae, was constructed on the mistaken principle, that the assailants would have the extreme complaisance to attack it right in front. The left flank was protected by "Jos-house Hill" with its fort, which had been strengthened by the British during their occupation of the island; but the right had nothing except a body of Chinese troops posted on some high ground. While, therefore, a small battery was thrown up by us on Melville Island, in front of the town,

to shell Jos-house Hill, it was determined to direct the main attack on the western or right flank of the defences, called "Sapper's Point." To the surprise of the Chinese, who were expecting the attack in front, as had been the case at Amoy, they saw the steamers debarking the whole force on the right of their position, the 55th leading the way. As fast as they could form, the different corps charged up the hill, to stop the enemy's fire, which soon became galling. After making a tolerable stand, and with some instances of individual bravery, the Chinese at length gave way and ran for it. The 18th Royal Irish, with some light artillery, took the direction of the long-shore battery, and drove the Chinese from their guns. Here at several points a sharp resistance was made, and the commander-in-chief of the garrison, named Heŏ, fell fighting very bravely.

Pagoda Hill, in the mean while, was cleared by the fire from Melville Island, and the force pushed on for the heights immediately above the city. Here the artillery opened a fire on the walls, while shells were thrown in from Melville Island, and from one of the light

steamers close in-shore. At a point where the ridge on the west extends into the city and interrupts the ditch, the walls were scaled, and thus Chusan fell a second time into our possession, not so soon to be restored as on the first.

The previous representations of Yukien as to the temper of the inhabitants were quite belied by the reception which they now gave to the British. Many of them hailed us as friends, by whom they had largely profited on the former occasion. Instead of flying and abandoning their houses as on the first capture, they remained quietly to take care of their property; no plundering took place, and the town continued as tranquil as ever. The greatest order and discipline prevailed among the troops, and the markets were abundantly supplied with provisions.

The two remaining generals, after the death of the chief, committed suicide. The civil magistrate, seeing all was lost, took as much treasure as he could carry, transporting it to Taeshan, a small island on the north of Chusan. To make it be supposed he had committed suicide, and thereby elude pursuit, he threw

down his boots and official dress near a canal; and thus the rumour, that he had destroyed himself like his predecessor on the former capture, prevailed for a considerable time. The vicissitudes of his subsequent history were curious. For having abandoned his charge with life he was at first sentenced to die, then banished, again reprieved, next condemned to pay a heavy fine, kept for some time in a state of degradation, but, lastly, named a candidate for the same magistracy whenever the island should be recovered — for which, however, he had to wait five years. During the war he was one of the most active in raising a militia, constructing fire-rafts, and procuring provisions for the army. But he at the same time declared, with more honesty than most of his countrymen, that all endeavours would be vain, and that the wisest plan was to conclude a peace. He showed, like Eleepoo, the greatest humanity to English prisoners, saved some from being sacrificed to the fury of the zealots, and having thereby earned a good name among the English, was attached to the commission for concluding the peace at Nanking.

The native plunderers on this occasion had

to confine their operations to the public stores, all private property being guarded by its owners. The natives, grown wise by experience, found it their interest to be friends with the strongest party, who were also the most abstemious and generous. The trade of partizan politics had proved so bad a one, that they received our soldiers as old acquaintance, and opened their shops under their protection. There was little public property to reward the captors. The treasury was emptied by robbers just before the entry of the city, and all attempts to capture them proved vain.

The Chinese government, however, resorted to its old practice of kidnapping. Numbers of wretches were despatched secretly from the main to carry on this miserable and paltry warfare. They laid wait for stragglers from the force, or apprehended such natives as had intercourse with the English. One officer had a narrow escape. A couple of these ruffians seized him without perceiving he had pistols on his person; with these he shot one, and the other was glad to escape the same fate. Nothing could exceed the atrocity of these cowardly savages. They would pounce

unawares upon their victim, hurry him into a sack, and take him from the nearest promontory over to the main. Arrived at Ningpo, they claimed from the mandarins the enhanced price of a living prisoner. If, however, he had proved troublesome and unmanageable, they would cut off his head, and take the smaller recompence for a dead one. The greater the cruelty exercised on their unfortunate captives, the higher the reward they received as an encouragement to their zeal. Several of these kidnappers obtained *honourable* distinctions; but they did not always escape the fate they deserved, for several were caught and disposed of in a summary manner.

On the fall of Chusan, Yukien addressed the following work of imagination to his sovereign, and it was the last that he was fated to write:—"I before informed your Majesty of the attack on Chusan, and the repulse of the barbarians, so that twenty-nine of their vessels were arrested in their course. Still there were ten more which might be indistinctly seen, hovering about Chusan and Chinhae. The water having risen to five feet

in the lowlands of Tinghae, in consequence of the rain and high tides, our soldiers were surrounded by the flood. When the barbarians knew this they instantly hastened to the attack. Our troops, retiring to an eminence, skilfully and bravely used their guns, so that the enemy was completely defeated, and sailed away to the east." (This perhaps refers to the two reconnoitring steamers already mentioned.)

"Subsequently, for several days, the report of guns in the direction of Tinghae was distinctly heard. We saw likewise a large ship, as well as several smaller ones, driving towards the south, without sails or guns. The weather was unfortunately so boisterous that I was unable to send our army any assistance from Chinhae. Some time afterwards our scouts reported that the ships had approached the shore, and the mast of one was immediately shot away, upon which they dispersed like rats. The next day, however, they opened a fire from three or four hundred guns upon our encampment, where the soldiers could shelter themselves under the rocks, and so remained unhurt. Soon after this

they landed, and the officer commanding on the heights immediately opened a fire and killed hundreds of them. He also hit a steamer's magazine, by which the vessel was destroyed. Suddenly, however, the enemy attacked our troops at three different points; but the moment our van was destroyed our rear advanced, killing great numbers of the barbarians. Still, the greater the number of those that were borne down, the greater the resistance and the denser their masses. I was just on the point of sending reinforcements when an official person, who had come over in great haste from Chusan, reported that the three generals had nobly perished, the magistrate been wounded in defending the city, and the soldiers, of whom great numbers in six days* hard fighting strewed the ground, had finally been obliged to retreat. Thus the city was lost, and the civil officers were obliged to fly in great haste.

"When I heard this, my hair stood on end at the daring of these villains, and I instantly consulted with Yupooyun for the protection

* The place was carried in a much smaller number of hours.

of Chinhae, without retreating an inch. I shall in the meanwhile send disguised soldiers as spies to Chusan, to ascertain the amount of our loss, and then re-assemble that army, at the same time apprehending traitors and quieting the people. I have already summoned all the troops in the neighbourhood instantly to repair to Chinhae, and shall soon forward a detailed account of proceedings. The officers and men who lost their lives in the defence of their country, your Majesty's slave recommends for gracious consideration."

The emperor replied, "I have directed that the cases of the generals and others who fell shall be considered, as they fought without cessation for six days, and destroyed the shipping of the barbarians, killing above a thousand of the enemy. I weep for the fate of so many brave soldiers who found an untimely grave; bestow upon the families of each of the three generals three hundred taels, and, as soon as Chusan is recaptured, a temple shall be erected to their memory. In all the districts through which their coffins pass, let the mandarins receive them with high honours."

"As for you, Yukien, who belong to an ancient and meritorious family, I raised you to your present state; therefore, behave in a manner worthy of your high name. Though there may be no truth in the declaration of Pottinger that he has succeeded Elliot, and is proceeding up the coast to attack the mainland of Chěkeang, still it is right to be prepared; and I therefore authorise the assemblage of sufficient troops to exterminate the enemy the moment they come near enough."

Yukien had in the meanwhile issued this proclamation: — "The barbarians have become outrageous, taken possession of Tinghae, slain our mandarins and soldiers, and committed such excesses as to raise a general indignation against them. You, the inhabitants of these districts, have always been famed for bravery, and I now call on the strongest and most martial among you to take up arms on your own account in order to repel the enemy. Assemble from your villages with every possible weapon, and repair to this station, that I may despatch you to accomplish the work of destruction. Every one enlisting in the militia will receive 300 *tchen* a

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day" (something under two shillings), "and honours and emolument will await those who can kill the foreign banditti." As a defiance to the English, the commissioner exhibited a notice, saying that he should in a short time have an army of 130,000 men, land in Chusan, and sweep them from the face of the earth; that he should give no quarter, but kill them indiscriminately, as the punishment of their enormous crimes. Full of rage and despair, his state approached that of insanity. He declined all advice, and merely commanded those serving under him to slay the detestable enemy, to drown or cut them to pieces, and free the land from the scourge.

The day for which Yukien had professed so much impatience at length arrived, and the British sea and land force approached Chinhae to prove their strength with him. The morning of the 10th October dawned serene and tranquil,— an utter contrast to the scene that was to be enacted before night. The water being as smooth as a mirror, without a ripple on its surface, the Wellesley and Blenheim were towed into their berths in little more than their own draft of water, and remained

nearly as steady as batteries on land. The frigates and steamers also took up their several positions, the latter after putting the troops on shore, a service for which the light iron steamers were well adapted, as the men could often jump on land without the aid of boats. The Chinese town and citadel being on the left bank of the river, and their troops chiefly encamped on the right, it was determined that, while the ships of war undertook the former, the land force, about 2200 strong, should attack the extensive encampment on the opposite side in three columns, the centre one in advance. The enemy, full 5000 in number, seeing this approaching, turned out in great confidence to receive it, and, forming in order, commenced a fire from their small artillery. The centre column had hardly received orders to fire when the two flank parties, to the astonishment and dismay of the Chinese, almost simultaneously appeared, and poured in their volleys of musketry. The dark mass of the enemy paused, wavered, and then broke up, flying on all sides, and leaving hundreds of dead and wounded on the ground. The main body made for the river, where they vainly

sought a refuge in the water. Perhaps from ignorance, they never asked for quarter, but resisted to the last, and the slaughter was terrible, while the prisoners were liberated after cutting off their tails. Our losses at both Tinghae and Chinhae were altogether only 17 killed and 36 wounded, while of the Chinese not less than 1000 fell at the former, and 1500 at the latter.

The ships had in the meanwhile been discharging an incessant shower of destructive missiles, including some shells of a new description, on the citadel and town, and the effect was fearful. The powder magazines of the Chinese are always exposed with a blind fatalism, and these exploded one after another, leaving behind them nothing but ruins and dead bodies. The Chinese gunners had hardly an opportunity afforded them. They had been enjoined not to throw away a shot, but to wait until the hostile fleet came within their range. Long before this could take place, the superior range of the British artillery had commenced its work of destruction, and drove them from their guns. This affair was in all respects one of the most decisive of the whole war.

The unhappy Yukien beheld all this for a while with such feelings as may be imagined in his case; and then, partaking of the universal panic at the bursting of shells, and the storm of iron which was spreading death in every direction, forgot his promises to the emperor, and gave the example of precipitate flight. But, soon awakened to his present disgrace, after so much violence and boasting, he made a sudden attempt to drown himself. His companions dragged him out, and obliged him to pursue his flight; but on the following day remorse again seized on his mind, and he put an end to his existence by swallowing either a large quantity of opium, or, according to others, gold leaf, which is stated to be an aristocratic mode of suicide among his countrymen. Dr. Gutzlaff entered the abode of the truculent commissioner soon after his flight, and found a great number of state-papers, proclamations, and maps, together with his whole private correspondence—a leisurely perusal of which conveyed no ordinary impression of the ruthless character of the man.

Yupooyun remained a little longer in the field, but it soon grew too hot for him too,

and being both old and lame he had some difficulty in saving himself. This was one of the early advocates of unrelenting war, who opposed Eleepoo in all his pacific proposals, and wished for nothing so much as to meet the enemy. The first trial was so little to his taste that, like Yukien, he made an attempt to drown himself, which, however, might have been a feint, as he soon recovered his self-possession, remained some time in command of what could be collected of the Chinese force, made subsequently some pacific proposals, and was, at the conclusion of the war in the following year, condemned to suffer death at Peking for cowardice.

The suicide of Yukien, as usual, saved the credit of the martyr, though there was no real difference between him and his colleague, except indeed that he was the worst of the two. Lew Tajin, his lieutenant in the province, gave this report of the catastrophe:—

"There arrived a military mandarin with the seals of Yukien, stating that, on the appearance of a large squadron of the enemy's ships, the commissioner transferred the seals to my care, and ascended the citadel to take

the command in person. When all was lost, he leaped into a tank to drown himself, having first turned his looks in the direction of the imperial palace. But some soldiers dragged him out and forced him to retreat. Having reached Ningpo he changed his dress and felt somewhat relieved, but on passing Yuyaou he breathed his last. When I heard this narrative I shed bitter tears, the more as Yukien leaves no children to represent him. I did all that remained, in causing his body to be enclosed in an appropriate coffin and forwarded to Keangsoo, in order to counteract the false and pernicious rumours that have gotten abroad in this place. As Yukien endeavoured to maintain the dignity of his country against the barbarians, and sacrificed his life in failing, he is worthy of all consideration. I therefore humbly entreat that some mark of imperial approbation may be conferred on his memory."

The 10th October was a fearful day to the Chinese. When our engineers, late in the evening, set fire to their encampment, the vivid flames, joined to the occasional explosion of quantities of gunpowder abandoned in the confusion of defeat, gave additional horror to

the scene. The shot had reached many who were mere spectators of, or unconcerned in, the fight, and whose bodies now strewed the neighbourhood of the field. It was on this occasion that the women showed themselves in the novel character of plunderers, attacking and pillaging the public stores of rice, many of them perhaps from mere hunger. The city itself of Ningpo, only a few miles up the river, lay wholly unprotected, and was quietly taken possession of by the British force, to which it was destined to furnish a tolerably comfortable asylum during the ensuing winter, when the strength of the N. E. monsoon put a temporary stop to the farther progress of the expedition.

CHAPTER VIII.

OCCUPATION OF NINGPO AND OPERATIONS THERE. — RE-APPOINTMENT OF ELEEPOO.

NOTHING could be quieter than the march of the British force into Ningpo on the 13th October. Not a shot was fired on either side, and the experience of the late carnage effectually damped all hopes from farther resistance; until, perhaps, growing impatient, with the progress of the winter, at the unceremonious occupation of their city, and anxious to assert "the dignity of the empire," the Chinese government made those renewed trials of arms which proved in their results exactly like all others which had preceded, or which were destined to follow them. When the first steamer proceeded up the river to reconnoitre the city, the few remaining troops abandoned it at the opposite gates. The people at first fled panic-struck in great crowds with their property, the boats which carried it off forming a line of some miles in length. The rabble

of plunderers soon sacked the deserted houses, and the public buildings came in for their share. When, in 1844, I visited Ningpo to inspect the Consulate, the mandarins apologised for the inferiority of their dwellings with a good-humoured allusion to the events of 1841, but by far the greater portion of damage was the work of their own countrymen. The largest office, that belonging to the inspector of the district, was in a short time not only pillaged but nearly demolished. In the magistracy a little treasure was found; and within the attached prison were discovered some incarcerated criminals whose hair had grown to such a length as to give them the aspect of wild men. By a curious coincidence, the first quarter occupied by our officers was the very building within which Major Anstruther and the other English prisoners had been so long confined; and when he entered as a conqueror he discovered the cage which had been his narrow abode, or rather place of torture, in its former site, with the marks of his pencil about the place.

Our troops might have marched the whole length and breadth of the land, so great was

the effect of the panic. This extended itself to a remarkable distance, and one town, called Seangshan, sent a portion of its soil to the British general as a token of subjection,—so like the ancient symbols of "earth and water." The feeling of security was soon restored when the people found that no injuries were inflicted on them. A steamer went up the river to Yuyaou, and observed the inhabitants at their customary occupations. The cities of Tszeke and Foonghwa contributed their quotas of provisions, and, being scrupulously paid for the same, discovered the advantages of a cheerful submission to necessity. Dr. Gutzlaff was interpreter to the force, and acted as magistrate over the Chinese. He declared that in no part of China had he met with such quiet and orderly people as at Ningpo and in its neighbourhood. When thousands, driven by want, assembled to procure a supply of rice from those stores which were abandoned to them, a single European was able to check the entire crowd. The inhabitants were ready to listen to advice and exhortation, and but for the secret influence, and ultimately the open hostility, of the go-

vernment, the tranquillity of the British force would never have been once disturbed during the whole occupation of some six months.

So plentiful in a short time was the supply of provisions, and so moderate the price, that a private soldier could feast upon his pay. In lieu of the sickness during the first occupation of Chusan, the cold season in latitude 30° produced general healthiness among the force; the hospitals were nearly empty, and the army in high and effective order. The best feeling became gradually established with the native inhabitants, the young Chinese lads entering cheerfully into the service of the troops, and proving of essential use in giving secret and timely notice of the formidable attacks which were eventually made on the British force.

The feeling of security on the part of the emperor at the capital had never yet received such a shock. Amoy had yielded, Chusan been retaken; but the supposed impregnable citadel of Chinhae, with the great preparations of the haughty Yukien, might at least have been expected to offer an effective resistance. The often-debated question of peace

or war was again renewed; and as there was yet ignorance and presumption enough in the imperial generals to disregard the late lessons, —as they required additional warnings of their own weakness and utter inability to oppose the invaders, war was still the vote. The first care was to bestow posthumous distinctions upon those mandarins who had either fallen by the enemy, or committed suicide afterwards,—the two things being strangely considered as equivalent. Among these Yukien held the chief rank. It was declared, that from the moment the rupture with the barbarians occurred, he had consistently advocated war, and never ceased his endeavours to humble their arrogance and display the majesty of the empire; and when the fury of the "rebels" had reached its height, Yukien still continued immoveable, preferring at last to destroy himself, when unsuccessful, rather than acknowledge their superiority. Extraordinary tokens of celestial favour were accordingly decreed to rejoice "his faithful spirit," and add to his fame. The coffin was sent under a convoy of officers of rank; wherever it stopped, on the road to Peking, the

same honours were bestowed on the dead as had been due to the living; and his nephew and younger brother were to be promoted for the merits of their illustrious relation. But if fame and public favour are frail possessions elsewhere, they are still worse in China. When the disastrous results of the war had entirely reversed the imperial counsels, and when the disgraced advocates of peace, Keshen and Eleepoo, were again in the ascendant, it was discovered that the hero Yukien had drawn enormous sums which were never accounted for, and that he had deceived his sovereign by his misrepresentations. His relations, therefore, became responsible for his debts, and his name was to go down to posterity as a lying pretender and a public swindler.

The prefect of Ningpo, who had fled with great precipitation, reported to the emperor, soon after its occupation, that "the remaining cities on the coast were in jeopardy; that the people of the metropolis had removed their families and goods; and that the rabble, availing themselves of their flight, had plundered

with great rapacity. Under these circumstances, not a soldier there could be relied on; and it therefore became the best course to defend the approaches in the direction of Tsaoungo, and protect Hângchow, as the barbarians by the route of Chapoo would proceed to that great city, their rebellious and murderous propensities being inflamed to an immeasurable degree." The local officers became utterly bewildered how to proceed, and were reduced to appeal to Peking for advice.

To all this the emperor replied, that they must act upon the defensive until the great army which was to annihilate the whole host of barbarians had assembled from all the provinces. The imperial decree was at length issued. It declared that the invaders had so entirely lost all sense of obedience, as to have assailed successively the Canton, Fokien, and Chĕkeang provinces. The people were scattered in every direction; and, as the result of these accounts of their misfortunes, sleep had departed from the imperial eyelids, and appetite deserted the celestial stomach. "I therefore ordain," continued his majesty, "that

Yihking* proceed to Chĕkeang, with the title of 'Terror-spreading General,' having Wun-wei and Tih-shun as his coadjutors. The great army will assemble at the appointed period in Chĕkeang, and there prove that they deserve well of their country. The soldiers, however, must commit no disorders on the way, and the officers must summarily punish every attempt of the kind. You are all the children of the empire, subsisting on its soil; should you, therefore, not participate in the same hostility against these rebellious barbarians, and avoid being led astray by traitors? You will thus render important services to your country, and soon again enjoy the blessings of peace."

The winter of 1841 was very cold, a circumstance much in favour of the British force at Ningpo; but its severity farther north retarded the progress of the Chinese-Tartar armament. The commissioners themselves

* A Manchow Tartar, nephew of the emperor, and at that time president of the Board of Civil Affairs. He proved as dissolute privately, and publicly as useless, as his predecessor *Yihshan*, on a similar mission at Canton. The prevailing character of these scions of the imperial house is pretty well established. — *Chinese;* vol. i. 252.

were delayed on their way, perhaps having no great appetite for their enterprise. Taoukwang even seemed to have some misgivings as to the result of the struggle, for he now turned his attention to the disgraced Keshen. Having before had considerable experience of the effect of his persuasive powers*, there was a chance that he might be of service again in the same way. But a man, who only a few months before had been declared an arch-traitor, could hardly be immediately entrusted with a high office. He, therefore, received a mere verbal command (should opportunities occur) to mislead as much as possible the British chiefs. Keshen travelled post haste, and arrived at the suburb of Hângchow, while the commissioners were still in Shantung. But he bore no public character, and could show no imperial commission. Lew Tajin, one of the war party and then in authority at Hângchow, took advantage of

* He is thus described by M. Huc, when he was Chinese minister at L'hassa: "Ki-shan, ayant obtenu son principal but, reprenait à notre égard ses manières aimables et caressantes. Son rapport était assez insignifiant : ce qu'on y disait de nous, n'était ni bien ni mal," &c.

this to declare that no traitor should enter the gate of the city; and as every one else protested strongly against the pacificator and friend of the barbarians, Keshen was actually obliged to retrace his steps. A kindred spirit was invited by the belligerents from the banks of the Yellow river, to assist them with his advice. This was Lin, of opium notoriety. He of course advised hostile measures, and the result was the occupation of the towns Yuyaou, Foonghwa, and Tszeke, not far from Ningpo, by militia raised for the occasion. These were easily routed and dispersed by British detachments from Ningpo. The credit of Lin was therefore damaged. There was no river to stake, as at Canton, for the violence of the stream which passes the walls of Hâng-chow defies Chinese labour and ingenuity, and Lin departed without laurels to his former post, to appear no more upon the theatre of war.

The imperial relative and commissioner Yihking, on arriving at Soochow, considered it most advisable not to risk his person by any undue haste to join the great camp before all the forces were collected. Being now at

the Chinese head-quarters of pleasure, in the city most celebrated (with Hângchow) for all the gratifications of sense, he spent a large portion of the winter in riot and debauchery, wasting without compunction those funds with which he had been entrusted for the public service. But as the reports of the good understanding between the inhabitants of Ningpo and the British force seemed to him to call for interference, the ignominious system of kidnapping was again fallen upon, and on a larger scale than ever. The most abandoned wretches of every description were encouraged to lay wait for stragglers from the town, or to entice our soldiers by means of spirits and other temptations until they could be made away with. The same game was also tried at Chusan. The son of one of the fallen generals, Chingmaoupaou by name, took the charge of these ruffians, and drew considerable sums from the government in the prosecution of his nefarious plans. Established on the main near Chusan, at Keto Point (where the unfortunate Captain Stead had been captured), he spent his time dissolutely with his boon companions, and sent off

hired wretches to carry away or murder any stragglers or drunken men who might be found near Tinghae. These villains in some instances brought boats freighted with Chinese syrens to allure our men on board, and then went off with them. All the captives were taken to Yihking, who found that his success in this vile warfare exceeded even his own anticipations.

About this time the capitalists of Ningpo made the attempt to offer a million of dollars for the ransom of their town; but Yihking discouraged and forbade the scheme, professing that he wished to conquer, not αργυρεαις λογχαισι, but by force of arms. It is said that he managed to get a portion of the sum into his own possession, and kept it. By way of lulling the vigilance of the British general, he sent in occasionally some trumpery individual as a pretended negotiator, though the fraud was as often betrayed by gross acts of treachery or cruelty. He succeeded, however, in terrifying to such a degree most of the better inhabitants of Ningpo, that they walled up the doors of their dwellings and abandoned them. The shops were at last closed, and the

city began to wear the appearance of Tinghae two years before.

The emperor, in the meanwhile, betrayed symptoms of uneasiness at the capital. He acknowledged that scarcely any place was safe from the daring of these "barbarian robbers." Among his military commanders, none stood so high in estimation as Hoochaou, who had gained a name in the Toorkistan war. This person was at first to have been charged with the expulsion of the invaders from Chĕkeang; but, on further consideration, he was deemed most worthy to guard the approaches to the capital at the mouth of the Peiho. His very name, it was expected, must terrify the barbarians; but late occurrences had been calculated to make him and his colleagues prefer keeping such an enemy at the greatest possible distance, and by rare good luck he contrived to remain at Tientsin, with an unimpaired reputation and a whole skin.

Taoukwang, with some foresight of the ultimate catastrophe, now sent strict injunctions to fortify the southern entrance of the grand canal at Chinkeangfoo, and prepare for the safety of Nanking. The rapidly succes-

sive falls of Amoy, Chusan, Chinhae, and Ningpo began to remove the mists of delusion which had been so ingeniously raised to obscure the imperial vision, and which proved that the chief danger and misfortune of such a despot is the very small chance which he can have of hearing a disagreeable truth when it might be of service to him. But even the Emperor now began to dread that at no distant day the British force might transfer its operations to the Yangtsekeang, and endanger the ancient capital of China. Fears were at the same time entertained for Shanghae, and the defences commenced at Woosung.

Before Yihking could persuade himself to enter upon the hazards of a campaign by land, he resolved to try the effects of a species of paper war, much more congenial to his temper and better suited to his abilities. He endeavoured to thin the ranks of the enemy and add to his own, on the very groundless supposition that numbers of Chinese subjects were in the former. Great service was no doubt derived from natives of the Celestial Empire during the war, but in no single instance as *soldiers*. In a proclamation it was observed

that "many Chinese on being captured exchanged their dress for a foreign one. In battle they ran the chance of being placed in front, and their lives sacrificed in behalf of their perfidious friends. There were likewise many foreigners in the English ranks, who most unwillingly followed the fortunes of their tyrants. They might safely reckon upon never receiving their share of the plunder; why therefore remain in their service? When the action commences let them only throw down their arms, and their lives shall be spared. The black men, who do not fire upon us, shall not suffer capital punishment. He who betrays one of the great barbarian chiefs, shall receive the rank of a mandarin; for giving up an inferior demon he shall receive money; and those who put a vessel into our hands shall receive the cargo as their reward."

Still more amusing placards were found, of which the aim was to persuade the foreign soldiers to go home and take care of their fathers and mothers, instead of troubling China. A native convert to the Papist religion was directed to draw up a prayer,

earnestly beseeching God to permit every mother's son to retire quietly to his native home. Underhand negotiations were even attempted, offering a sum of money if the forces would quit China for ever. This almost incredible fatuity could only be accounted for by the gross ignorance of the Celestial representative. All, however, was surpassed by a paper found in one of the deserted camps, addressed to the British general, exhorting him to surrender the whole army into the hands of Yihking, who, in consideration for such a service, would strongly recommend him to the gracious notice of the Son of Heaven. A part of the British force was to be given up to the mercy of the mandarins, and the remainder allowed to return home. Those who would enter the army should be accepted; but on refusal of this offer, all should be exterminated. Some time was allowed for the consideration of these handsome proposals.

The people of Chusan, on our second occupation of that island, were found very well disposed; but Yihking did his best to work upon their hopes or fears. Without their con-

currence or permission he contrived to have the following notice, his own composition, carried over to the island and exhibited in their name:—"We the inhabitants of the 36 districts, make known that, though living in a secluded spot, we have not degenerated from our loyalty as faithful subjects. From the time when the English proved rebellious and came hither, we have looked on them in no higher light than the brute creation. Their sole object, however, is trade, and they ventured not to disturb us in our dwellings. We therefore had constant dealings with them, and they on their part pretended to be actuated by benevolence and justice. Thus for a time we were deceived, and infected with their mania. But we have become heartily ashamed of our backwardness in not sacrificing our lives and homes for the general good, the more as we shall soon be threatened with destruction, if our soldiers, as they intend, burn their vessels. Our temples are already desecrated, our fields laid waste on their account, and our lives in jeopardy. The terror-inspiring general now calls upon us to render some service to the country by killing these robbers;

and should our dwellings be consumed by fire, the mandarins will indemnify our losses. On those who are devoid of patriotism, and look on their own ruin with indifference, we denounce perdition. Let all with one heart and mind aim at the destruction of the British fleet, and wait their opportunity. Already are the English reduced to great straits, and have been obliged to implore the aid of the French, a nation which resembles them in dress.* Consider that the war arose from the loss of the opium, a matter which did not concern Chusan in the smallest degree; yet the English took possession of this island. Our emperor, however, forgave their crimes and set their prisoners at liberty, allowing them, at the same time, to carry on commerce at Canton. Yet, still hardened in wickedness and insatiate in their demands, they recommenced the war and disturbed our coast. Let us now arm our-

* It is probable that the appearance of the Cléopâtre, French frigate, about this time, gave rise to the absurd idea. They had hoped for aid to themselves, until the marked cordiality which always subsisted between the French and English authorities obliged the Chinese reluctantly to resign that prospect.

selves, and assassinate or poison them. They will then be reduced to misery, and finally leave our island. In the mean while, we shall never in any way harm the French; and even our own countrymen who have joined them will be received back, if they willingly return and express their contrition for having foolishly herded with barbarians."

"When the struggle commences, the black men* will have no interest in risking their lives for the others, as their commanding officers appropriate to themselves all the spoil. In every engagement they have to bear the brunt of the battle, so that many of them are wounded or killed; and they complain frequently of this with tears, showing their unwillingness to engage in that which does not concern them in the least degree. Therefore, to effect a mutiny in the ranks of the enemy, we shall treat these men with leniency, and allow them to return to their homes, with the secret understanding that they shall surrender to us their commanding officers. As for these, we shall kill them indiscriminately.

* Sepoys.

Should any one of our countrymen not subscribe to the above sentiments, may he and his posterity perish; but those who tread in the path of glory will be richly rewarded."

Another paper soon followed this from the same quarter, declaring that the French ship of war would assist the people in their designs. Whether the people of Chusan knew that the whole was pure invention, or felt satisfied with our rule, not a man was moved by all these promises and denunciations to stir from his business; and the few hired ruffians of the Chinese government were much more feared by the inhabitants than the English, who, from being their invaders, had become their protectors, requiring nothing in the shape of taxes or contributions, but paying for all they bought in a well-furnished market.

Nor was much patriotism exhibited by the Chinese inhabitants on the opposite main. Yihking and his two colleagues published, in their joint names, a proclamation to the whole people, commenting on the misery to which they must have been subjected by the invasion, and blaming them for remaining quiet under so many difficulties. We have seen, however,

Ningpo was deserted by its chief inhabitants; but though the British commanders had received warning of the intended attack, so many false alarms had been before given, that this did not meet with the fullest credence. Some unexpected informants, however, afforded their aid. A number of little boys, who had been found by our troops deserted and half-starved on the capture of the place, had been adopted as "helps" in the messes of the different regiments. On the morning of the 9th these boys, who were scarcely ever out of the men's quarters, appeared before their patrons in a state of great alarm, making signs in imitation of the discharge of matchlocks and cannon, and repeating to all their military friends in the barracks the warning, "*Mingtien laelo, mingtien laelo!*" (They are coming to-morrow); after which they all disappeared, and towards evening scarcely one was to be seen in the quarter occupied by the force.*

* Lieut. Ouchterlony's account. I was surprised, on visiting Ningpo during 1844, by the familiarity which some of these *gamins* displayed with our language and customs. They surrounded the guard of marines when drawn up, and shouted "shoulder arms!" &c. &c., in the most boylike and impudent manner.

The warning was fortunately not lost on the men, among whom a feeling of unusual alertness prevailed on that night. The gates of the town most exposed to attack were the west and south, and at each of these a guard of a subaltern and fourteen men were posted. Midnight had passed away without any alarm, and to some it seemed that the troops were again to be disappointed, when about four o'clock in the morning, when men's sleep is generally the soundest, the west gate was assailed by an immense column of the enemy, bearing down through the adjoining suburb. Lieut. Armstrong of the 18th Royal Irish, the officer on guard at that post, made a most gallant and effective defence with his little band. One of the men, who had been under confinement for some irregularity, was immediately released, and he did good service by wrenching his weapon from the leader of the enemy, as he had reached the embrasure, and felling him back from the wall with, "There's a Tipperary touch for you!" The attack at this post proved very obstinate. A dense mass of the enemy, headed by very determined men, poured down upon the gate,

and made desperate efforts to carry it, but were successfully kept in check until the arrival of reinforcements enabled the small party of defenders to become assailants in their turn.

Meanwhile the south gate (from which the bolt had been secretly extracted) was carried by surprise, the guard being driven in before overwhelming masses of the enemy, who directed their course to the quarters of the general and the 49th regiment. In emerging, however, from a narrow street into the market place, they were arrested by a company of the 49th, who were on the way to reinforce the south gate. These immediately formed across the street and poured in a volley, which was returned by the enemy's matchlock-men and a small ginjall which they brought to their front. They did not stand long before the steady and rapid fire of our men, but, giving way, retreated towards the south gate, through which they were soon driven with loss, and this post was reoccupied.

Before the west gate had been abandoned by the assailants, Colonel Montgomerie brought a howitzer with a party of artillery to that

point, and, ordering the gates to be thrown open, effected a sortie upon the enemy in the suburb outside. They were crowded so thickly in the main street of the suburb (perhaps having General Yang * in the rear), that the storm of grape-shot and musketry told with fearful effect, and heaped the enemy so high as at length to obstruct the fire, burying alive a mandarin pony in the half-living mass of those who fell. Their retreat was followed up from both points as long as it could be done with effect, and the number killed was about four hundred, with very little injury on our own side.

The boldness and determination of this attack, after the severe lesson of Chinhae, excited some surprise in the force; but it proved that the large body of men who composed this part of the army of Chěkeang, had never been opposed to British troops. Among them were a number of that peculiar race of mountaineers, called *Meaou tsze* †, who, on account of

* See below, p. 234.

† "The principal seats of these mountaineers are between the provinces of Kwei-chow and Kwang-se, though some of them exist in other parts of the same ridge; and in the Chinese maps their borders or limits are marked off

their reputed courage and hardihood, had been brought from a great distance to strengthen the emperor's army. It was upon the bodies of the slain on this occasion that our men found generally six dollars, which had evidently been paid to them on the eve of the engagement.

Simultaneously with the attacks on the two gates of Ningpo, some guns from the shore had been brought to bear on the Modeste, anchored in the river near the north-east angle of the city wall; but these were soon silenced by the ship's broadsides, and a number of fire-rafts also were towed ashore with the usually small amount of damage. On the same night an attack was made on our force situated at Chinhae, but authentic notice of it led to such preparations as caused the immediate repulse and retreat of the assailing body. Nor had Chusan been forgotten. Fire-rafts and other annoyances were attempted on the shipping in the harbour, and at Taeshan, a small island to the north-east,

like those of a foreign country, and the insulated space left vacant. . . . . The men do not shave their hair like the Tartars and Chinese, but wear it tied up in the ancient fashion of the latter people before they were conquered."— *Chinese*, vol. i. ch. iv.

was discovered, and dispersed with considerable loss, an armament intended for the attack of Tinghae. These were terrible reverses for Yihking, from whom the emperor was expecting nothing but victories. The usual system of falsehood and misrepresentation was adopted by the commissioner in his report to Peking; but even there the truth could not for ever be concealed. When the British fleet, which had been reported as destroyed before Chusan, left that island for Chinhae as numerous as ever, the emperor began to evince suspicion at so strange a circumstance, and to discredit the bulletins of his officer, though pieces of wrecked boats and a few stolen muskets were occasionally forwarded to the capital as proofs of Chinese prowess.

After the retreat from Ningpo, the army of Chĕkeang assembled in force to the north-west in the neighbourhood of Tsekee, having been recently reinforced from the north (probably with the view of covering Hângchow) with numerous detachments under the command of the renowned General Yang. This interesting personage has been graphically described by M. Huc, in the following terms: — "When

the action commenced, he tied up his beard in two knots, to keep it out of his way; he then posted himself in the rear of his troops. There, armed with a long sabre, he poked his soldiers to the fight, and mercilessly slew all who had the cowardice to retreat. This way of commanding an army may seem very strange; but those who have lived among the Chinese will be sensible that the military genius of General Yang was based on a knowledge of his troops."

According to information obtained by Dr. Gutzlaff, five or six thousand of the enemy were assembled in the neighbourhood of Tinghae, under a Tartar general, with a view of attacking Ningpo from the south: but when a force of about 900 men was directed against their position, it was ascertained that they had retreated. The intrenched camps in the neighbourhood of Tsekee accordingly became the next object of attention to our force. On the 15th October, the whole detachment, consisting of about 1250 men, (including a naval brigade of 350 seamen and marines, with Admiral Sir W. Parker in person,) proceeded up the river in the steamers

Queen, Phlegethon, and Nemesis, and disembarked about four miles distant from Tsekee. On an amphitheatre of hills to the north of the town (the heights of Segaon,) the Chinese army was observed encamped in large force. The town itself was not fortified, and the greater portion of our troops passed through it towards the heights. On attacking these in three separate columns, some loss was experienced from the enemy's matchlock-men during the ascent of the steep ranges on which the Chinese were drawn up; but these once gained, the rout soon became general, and the retreating force, exposed to a cross fire from the separate bodies of the British, as well as intercepted at several points in their flight, suffered very heavy loss. This was another of those lessons which had become necessary from the unconquered arrogance and conceit of the enemy, which without such examples might have protracted the war *ad infinitum;* with the confidence that the barbarians, whatever they might do in their ships, could not fight on shore.

The panic which the Chinese army had sustained from the defeat on the heights of

Segaon was proved by the entire abandonment of a strong fortified position, to which the British force immediately advanced, at the pass of Chang-kee. Thus was the grand army of Chĕkeang effectually dispersed, and the small brigade by which this had been effected returned to its quarters at Ningpo only two days after quitting them. The winter occupation of Ningpo was exchanged, soon after these operations, for a more effective campaign to the north; but what had already been done tended, in no small degree, to influence the final result, and to make the Chinese government wish (whatever it might say), for an adjustment of differences pregnant with such disaster to itself. It is satisfactory to add that this result was promoted, not more by the resistless valour and discipline of our troops, than by the humanity and care with which thĕ wounded and captured of the enemy (much to their astonishment) were treated by their "barbarian" conquerors. How kindness will operate, even on ruthless and unprincipled natures, was found in the change of conduct experienced by our kidnapped prisoners. In the first instance they were treated

with the greatest cruelty, and Yihking even proposed to sacrifice them before his standard as a means of insuring victory. The savage temper of this man had been once displayed by his sending in the headless trunk of an English soldier whom he had decapitated. But when the Chinese, Tartars, and Meaoutse, taken with arms in their hands, were well fed and protected by us, the wounded tended with our own, and the whole subsequently despatched in safety to their commander-in-chief, he could not resist imitating the example. The conduct towards our imprisoned people was immediately changed, and they were treated as well as they might have been in the most civilised country of Europe.*

* This amounted, in some instances, to acts approaching to a chivalrous courtesy. Yihking sent some Chinese Talthybius to Ningpo, expressly to claim the body of an officer who died bravely fighting and cheering his men to the assault, and who fell near the west gate. On hearing that the British force buried the enemy's dead in a decent manner, he requested to be allowed to place an epitaph over a large grave where many of them slept. As the converse of all this, and a strong proof of the practical importance of such matters, may be mentioned the inveterate hatred of the Canton populace, resulting from the outrages committed on their tombs by a few stragglers

The humane and wise course which the Chinese, in their ignorance, so little expected from us, and which they had as little been accustomed to practise themselves, not only mitigated the horrors of war, but effectually promoted the conclusion of peace. The estimable Eleepoo, who we have seen was the ever consistent promoter of a peaceful policy, continued to derive from our treatment of the Chinese prisoners one of his strongest arguments for a change of measures; and he at last triumphed in the accomplishment of that which, in its bare proposition, had brought down so much odium, disgrace, and peril upon himself, and upon Keshen.

The news of the retirement of the British force from Ningpo on the 6th of May, about two months after the defeat and dispersion of the army of Chĕkeang, afforded to Yihking what he considered as a splendid opportunity of retrieving his credit with the emperor. The embarkation of the force at Chinhae was conducted with the most perfect order and tranquillity, the soldiers, instead of going

and camp followers during the occupation of the heights of Canton in 1841.

on board the steamers in boats, marching over slanting bridges purposely constructed by Captain Watson. Yet in the very face of this, our "Jupiter Scapin" reported to Peking, that he had followed the enemy's retreat with his valiant troops, slain a great number of barbarians, captured their arms and ammunition, and driven them completely out of the river! This he endeavoured to explain as partly the result of a grand victory obtained over the English near Chusan, "where a great many of their vessels had been blown up, a number of men killed, and terror infused into their whole host. Being harassed day and night, losing many of their people, and straitened for provisions, they had resolved upon a retreat." He had rashly counted on the abandonment of the island a second time. It has already been seen that the most perfect good understanding prevailed between the British force and the people of Chusan, who, finding themselves very well treated, could not be seduced by the arts of Yihking to revolt against their new masters.

Besides the gross and palpable character of these official frauds, another surprising feature

is their perpetual succession, the one rising phœnix-like from the ashes of its effete predecessor. But the unfortunate Yihking was doomed to a speedy disgrace; for just as his pseudo-triumph was blazoned forth, a very unpretending paper from "Old Shoo"* (the late civil governor of Chusan), arrived and conveyed the startling intelligence, that the English were about to invade the more northern provinces. Few, if any, would have ventured so plainly to speak the truth; but Shoo (like Eleepoo) was bent upon peace, and imagined (justly, as it turned out) that the desired object might be speediest attained by an unvarnished account of the real state of things. After Yihking had despatched his ill-fated report to Peking, two of our people were kidnapped, and from them it was clearly ascertained that the British force was on the

* This excellent man was well-known, and obtained among our officers the foregoing designation. His honesty and straightforwardness, among the other advocates of peace, met with their reward. He was promoted in rank, and commissioned by his government to receive back the island of Chusan, in 1846, when that post was evacuated in accordance with the treaty of Nanking. See Vol. II.

point of attacking Chapoo and other places. His disgrace was complete and inevitable from this moment.

The consternation among all classes of the Chinese troops, after their repeated experience of the effects of our arms, was universal. Their superstition being, as usual, in proportion to their ignorance, it became a matter of speculation with them whence it could be that the British forces derived their resistless power; what it was that made their aim so unerring, their charge so terrible, and their course so uniformly victorious. Having been taught to expect something the very reverse of all this, it was easier (and perhaps less galling to national pride) to refer to supernatural means what they were sorely puzzled to reconcile with their small amount of knowledge and reason,—not more absurdly, however, than we ourselves formerly drowned witches, and laid midnight goblins. Both men and mandarins, or, as our sailors called them, "mad marines" purchased with avidity scraps of paper inscribed with English writing (occasionally words anything but talismanic), which were to inspire them infallibly with courage,

and render them proof to shot. These were circulated widely in the Chinese forces by "cunning" dealers, with more profit to themselves than the purchasers; and bought with as much sagacity as led the lower orders of Irish in London a few years since, to buy 'pills good against earthquakes,' when the British metropolis was threatened by prophets with such intestine disorders.

When the Splendour of Reason (the emperor's title) became well informed at last of our future movements, an effort was made to rouse the nation by a stirring edict. "I desired," he said, "to free the people from the dreadful scourge of opium, and accordingly sent Lin Tsihseu as high commissioner to Canton. All submitted to his behest, except the English, who made a pretext for trouble, grounded on the burning of their opium. When they presented a statement of their complaints at the mouth of the Peiho, I dismissed Lin for misconduct, despatched Keshen to examine their grievances, and on their restoring Chusan granted life to their prisoners and permitted their return. They next behaved with unrelenting and outrageous insolence at Can-

ton, but even then the high commissioner Yih-shan accommodated himself to their demands. The debts owing by our merchants were paid to them, and they were allowed the opening of the much-coveted trade. Again, however, they were bent on mischief, hastened towards the north, took several places, re-occupied Chusan, and became the terror of my people. But what have you done to be exposed to the sufferings which you now bear? If you organize yourselves in bands to resist this invasion, I shall command my officers gallantly to defend the country, and, in case of failing to do so, punish them severely. Those of my subjects who have been led astray or followed the fortunes of the barbarians, I now recall, promising them forgiveness of their treason. All my servants are desired to unite with their whole heart and strength in extirpating this hateful race." This was read to all the military, posted up in every public place, but proved of no effect. The army was down-hearted, and the people at large, who cared very little for their rulers, retained the most perfect apathy—except, as we have seen, for local reasons, at Canton.

Scarcely had these exhortations been promulgated, when news arrived from the Canton authorities, that a very large fleet was assembling in Hongkong harbour, and had partly sailed for the north. To the long apprehended entrance of the Yangtsekeang, was now added the fear that the British squadron would make directly for Tientsin, throwing the Court into consternation, and paralyzing its influence. A new course of policy began now to be whispered, for despair of deciding the quarrel by dint of arms was taking possession of every breast. All the grand projects of an exterminating war and certain conquest vanished; no boasters found any credit; no announcement of victories was believed after so many disappointments. In this crisis, there was none to comfort Taoukwang; the champions of war remained mute; none had advice to offer, or could aid with his prowess. The emperor felt at once that his best course was to despatch the peaceful Eleepoo, and forget the counsels of every *miles gloriosus*, whose cry had been, "no compact with barbarians." The same expedient as before in the case of Keshen, but with more effect, was adopted in this instance,

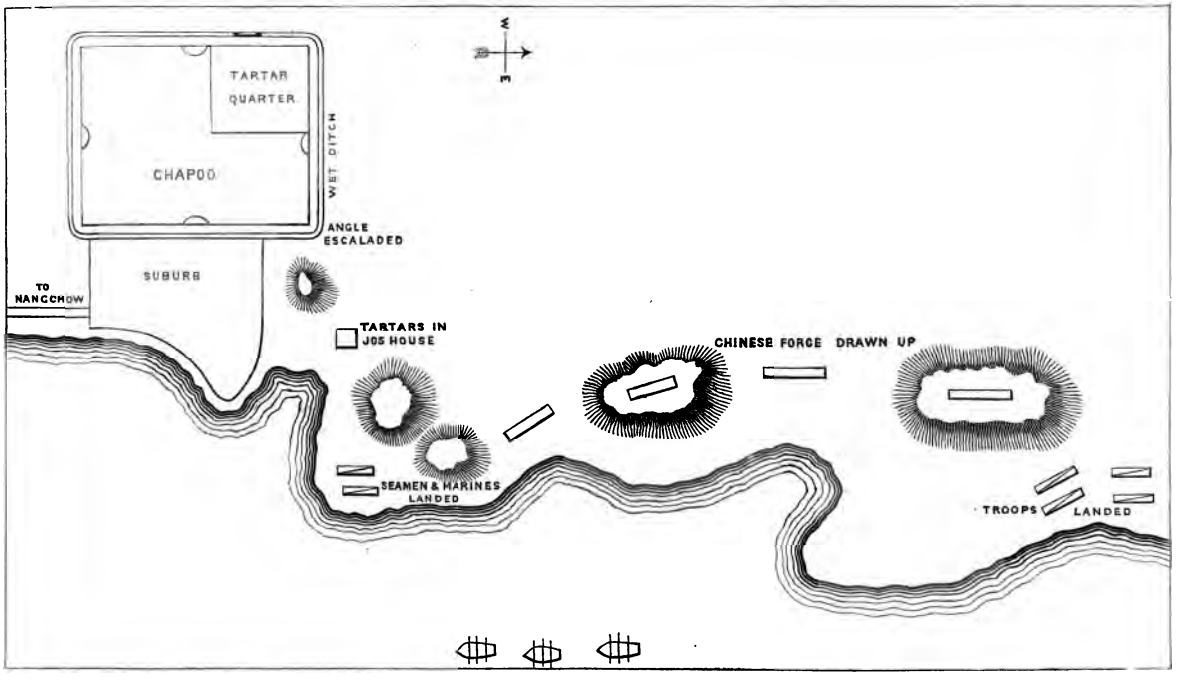
and the future commissioner left the capital without rank, or other instructions than a peremptory command to stop the progress of the invaders.

Even this was a species of resurrection to the lately persecuted advocate of peace. At Peking he had been considered in no better aspect than that of a traitor, for whom the severest penalties were too light. A perpetual exile to the river Amoor, a sentence nearly equal to capital punishment, had been pronounced, and except for the rapid advance of the British force he would have died amidst the snows and ice of the Chinese Siberia: but a better destiny awaited him, and, when already on his way to the dreary wilderness, an express recalled him to the capital.

CHAPTER IX.

TAKING OF CHAPOO TO CAPTURE OF CHINKEANG-FOO.

About sixty miles to the N. N. W. of Chinhae, in the great bay or estuary of the river on which Hângchow is built, lies Chapoo, important from being the emporium of the trade with Japan, and at the same time the key to Hângchow, with which it is connected by a causeway along the shore. This has probably been rendered necessary by the nearly unnavigable character of the estuary, whose tides and currents rage in a very unusual manner. The British force, owing to contrary winds, did not reach the neighbourhood of Chapoo until the 17th of May, and on the following day the attack was commenced. It was here that the first display was made of the obstinate courage of Tartar troops during fight, and the ruthless barbarity with which they deal in suicide and mutual destruction, when defeat has reduced them to despair—



CAPTURE OF CHAPOO.

aggravated, perhaps, by their total ignorance of the quarter given by our troops to vanquished enemies.

The Chinese force was drawn up on a range of hills parallel to the shore, on the left of the town and harbour. The British landed in two columns, of which one was destined to turn the left of the enemy's position, and drive them along the range of hills into the plain, while the other was to march by their rear and intercept their retreat towards the town. After a smart fire of matchlocks and ginjalls on the advancing columns they gave way, and, being pursued by the left column down the hills, were encountered by the other in their flight with great slaughter. The town was escaladed at its north-east angle without difficulty, but in the meanwhile a body of from three to four hundred Tartar troops, whose retreat through the eastern suburb of the town was cut off, took post in a large temple or Jos-house, where they made a most desperate defence for some hours, killing or wounding several men and officers, Colonel Tomlinson of the 18th being among the killed. The building was at length breached by ar-

tillery and burned down, after the greater number of the Tartars had fallen in defending it, and only a few remained to be set at liberty and sent away, much to their surprise, with commendations of their courage.

Dr. Gutzlaff entered the Tartar citadel or quarter, in the north-west angle of the town, soon after its capture, and beheld a scene of blood and desolation that was only once subsequently surpassed during the war. The wives and daughters of the Manchows, unwilling to survive the disgrace of their male relations, or apprehending the worst treatment from strangers of whom they had always heard so ill, immolated themselves and each other by hanging, drowning, and every other mode of death. The whole place was like a city of the dead. Persuasions and assurances were of no avail, and though the Doctor went about with food and other supplies, and hoped that his exhortations had dissuaded those who remained from following the fearful example of the others, scarcely an individual female was found alive on his return the following morning. Mothers, daughters, and young children lay stretched in all attitudes of

death. An old woman had been prevailed upon by our soldiers on the preceding day not to drown her daughter; but she watched her time, and effected the girl's destruction, and afterwards her own, as soon as left to herself.

The Chinese plunderers ransacked with the greatest alacrity and zest the Tartar quarter after its abandonment, but found little of much value there. The Tartar general left a good library in his own language, which was fortunately saved by the captors. When the day was lost, and his encampment in flames, he jumped into the water and so ended his existence. The governor of the town headed the militia and received a very severe wound, of which he died with great constancy under the hands of a British surgeon. The extensive arsenals and powder magazines were totally destroyed by our troops, and a severe blow inflicted on the defences of the place. Whoever wrote the official account of the capture had taken a lesson from the unfortunate Tartar general*, for it was a true and feeling account of the operation, and better

* See Page 22 *antè*.

suited to the present temper of the government.

Yihking, that recreant scion of the imperial house, had continued to keep the river between himself and the invading force, and, on being called to account for not succouring Chapoo, professed the utmost anxiety for the safety of Hângchow, which he declared he intended to defend to the last. But his day was now over; and the emperor, tired of so many "victories" over the barbarians, which were only bringing them nearer to his own doors, thought it time to select another relative on whom he could place greater reliance. This was KE-YING, by far the most remarkable person with whom Europeans have ever come in contact in that part of the world.

He was by birth a Manchow Tartar, son of a minister of the preceding emperor, Keaking; and, entering at a very early period of life into the public service, was appointed commissioner of customs at Shanhae-kwan, on the frontiers of China and Tartary, near the sea or eastern extremity of the great wall. From thence he was called to a subordinate post in the palace, when it was that his in-

timacy began with the emperor Taoukwang, then a prince, who subsequently married his niece. His talents and other good qualities recommended him to the monarch on his accession, and as early as 1830 he was president of one of the Six boards, and in special charge of the safety of the capital. He was subsequently appointed governor of Leaoutung, the birthplace of the imperial race, in Manchow Tartary; an office of high trust, and given only to those whose fidelity could be relied on. This was his post at the commencement of the war, and from thence he made several propositions respecting the defence of the coast. He had always given his opinion that the war was a ruinous measure, and that Keshen under all the circumstances had made the best possible convention. He had arrived at Peking just when the news of the advance of the British squadron reached the Court, and people began to fear that its destination was the Peiho. In this dilemma the emperor directed him to proceed and take the command at Hângchow, where he became the colleague of Eleepoo shortly after the fall of Chapoo. On his first arrival he perceived that there was no hope in

a continuance of hostilities, and he resolved without any instructions to try the way of peace, and finish, if possible, a struggle which was undermining the throne, and might ultimately prove fatal to the Manchow dynasty. Fortunately for himself, he was supported in these views by most of the great men of Tartar extraction at Peking, while the Chinese remained bigoted to their antiquated notions and opposed his suggestions. The arguments which Keying adduced as to the irresistible power of the invaders, and the impossibility of saving the capital should it be attacked, carried at length conviction with them, and the emperor was prepared to submit to necessity. This change, however, was not effected without great difficulty, and after repeated discussion.

Keying seemed willing to place his all on the stake at this important crisis, and he at once suggested to Eleepoo the measure of giving up the English prisoners, as this might lead to negotiation. Eleepoo, far more sanguine, though less reasonable, vainly imagined that this sole measure of yielding up the prisoners might stop the advance of the

British force, as they had quitted Chusan on a previous occasion. Keying, in writing to Peking, hinted his fears that the next attack might be on Shanghae, a place of the greatest importance on account of its large trade, and at the same time likely to be the first step towards an expedition up the Yangtsekeang.

The commission forwarded to Keying on this occasion, after assenting to his views on the present state of things, appointed him Tartar general of Hângchow. "As this metropolis of Chĕkeang is a place of the greatest importance, Tihshun* would not be equal to the defence of the city. Keying receives the seal of high imperial commissioner, and with the assistance of Tihshun will protect the coast against every invasion; and should they fail they will be responsible for the consequences. Lew Yunko, the civil governor, remains in charge of the magistracy, and will co-operate in maintaining our government in the maritime districts."

This Lew Yunko had been a zealous partizan of Lin and Yukien, and the war party,

* One of the sub-commissioners with Yihking.

but he had now lost all courage. In a very long memorial to the emperor, giving a detailed account of the loss of Chapoo, he openly avowed that the English "rebels" acted in this campaign with the greatest prudence, and pushed on their conquests while they preserved Chusan in their rear. After the capture of Chapoo, no resistance could any longer be expected on the side of Hângchow, because the Chinese troops were totally disheartened, and the access to the city in shallow boats not difficult.* He confessed that he was unable to preserve the territory placed under his charge, and accordingly requested that he might be handed over to the board of punishments, or criminal board.

The invading force was now advancing towards the neighbourhood of the Yangtsekeang, and the Peking cabinet began to perceive that the supplies of grain and other contributions from the south, so necessary to the maintenance of the huge establishments of Peking†, might be suddenly cut off. This

* The iron steamers drew so little water that they were invaluable for such service.

† "It is deserving of remark that no small part of the

irresistible appeal to their feelings occasioned the most urgent commands being conveyed to New Tajin, governor general of the "two Keang" provinces, to block up the mouth of the Yangtsekeang. He might as well have attempted to block the Formosa strait. This grandee was a bigoted Chinese, well versed in the Four Books of Confucius, and who had only recently entered on the duties of his office. He rashly reported that he would render the great river inaccessible to every enemy. Utterly unacquainted with what was approaching, and never having seen any thing foreign in his life, he issued bombastic edicts, and reported that every thing was prosperous, though not many days removed from what must have come upon him like an earthquake.

He had however made, if bulk alone had been the object, the most gigantic preparations for the protection of the Woosung river,

allowances of public servants, especially at Peking, as well as the stipends of courtiers and imperial relatives, is paid in the shape of *rations* and *supplies*. . . . . With reference to the grain that is transmitted to the capital, Padre Serra informs us that it is laden in about ten thousand boats, each boat carrying eleven hundred sacks." — *The Chinese*, vol. ii.

leading to Shanghae, and thrown up mud batteries along the whole line of the sea-wall from Paoushan, a town on the Keang, to Woosung. This line bristled with hundreds of cannon in the style of the Bogue forts, and behind it was entrenched a large army, of which some portion consisted of a Chinese militia. The departure of the British force from Chapoo, after the demolition of its defences, gave rise to much speculation in the anxious minds of those to the north. Eleepoo himself, sanguine as to the influence which he hoped to exercise over the conquerors, vainly imagined that he should be able to bend them to the will of the emperor, and produced in proof a mere civil answer which he had received from the British general and admiral. In consequence of the unavoidable delays between Chapoo and the Keang, some of the Chinese leaders, — their wish being father to the thought, — supposed that the expedition had returned home, and the sagacious, but rather gratuitous, *on dit* appears to have prevailed, that the British sovereign, being captured by an adverse faction, had sent suddenly for the fleet in the Chinese seas! But, alas, there

arrived some fishermen who too distinctly stated that the hostile squadron was in battle array at no great distance, and making for the Woosung river.

The report to the emperor respecting the defences at Woosung and Shanghae ran in these terms:—"Soldiers are maintained for years, with the chance of being useful on a single emergency. Hence the troops here in garrison consist chiefly of old and decrepit men, and therefore a militia has been embodied in their stead. Though these have greatly improved in their military drill, we have no security that, in the hour of battle, they will maintain their post. But while dismissing the old, and thus saving their pay and provisions*, strict orders have been issued to the military commanders, daily to exercise the skill of the new levies on the coast. The large vessels of the barbarians cannot approach very near to the shore, on account of the banks and shoals,

* If this is the way in which China rewards her veterans, it is hardly surprising that the troops should have displayed so little devotion in the hour of need. It is plain that they have no Chelsea and Greenwich hospitals.

and our intrenchments will prove sufficient to repel the attacks of their boats. We have formed a body of sharp-shooters, to fire upon the invaders as soon as they approach in their small vessels. For the especial protection of the harbour, we have pressed and fitted out a hundred fishing vessels. They are too low in the water to be harmed by shot from the high barbarian ships, and may thus surround and attack them with impunity." The writer of this omitted to mention, that a native of Chusan had built small vessels on the model of our steamers, with paddle-wheels. It was said that, when ready, he endeavoured to propel them by means of smoke made in the hold; but, as they declined altogether to move on such terms, it was subsequently found advisable to turn the wheels by relays of men working with their weight, somewhat on the principle of a tread-mill. In this condition they were found by our force. The Chinese officers tried them, and were satisfied with the rate of their movement, and the use of the guns on board.

Keying and Eleepoo were ordered by their government to proceed to Shanghae, in order

to save, if possible, the place by negotiation; but something happened to delay the journey of the commissioners, and only their messengers appeared at Shanghae. The British squadron was preceded by Commanders Collinson and Kellett, who were despatched to survey the river Woosung, and lay down the anchorage for the squadron. This important and hazardous service was performed under the very guns of the Chinese, who, however, did not fire upon them, seemingly desirous to avert extremities. New Tajin wrote to the emperor, that he had "ordered out the military to observe the enemy, but, as no attack was made, the soldiers returned to their encampment. The barbarians, however, were exceedingly crafty, and it was difficult to divine their ulterior designs. Hence he took the greatest care, and was very wary to prevent a sudden surprise, though persuaded that the fortifications were too strong for the invaders." The emperor observed, in reply, that he was "greatly astonished at the approach of the enemy to Keangnân, and ordered, in the most peremptory terms, that they should there be kept at bay, in order to prevent their pro-

ceeding to Tientsin," which is only eighty miles from the capital, and fifty from the sea, being the northern extremity of the canal, and the port and harbour for all the grain and tribute junks for the supply of Peking.

To add to the general consternation, additional despatches had been received from Canton, conveying the dismal intelligence of the great number of vessels with troops which had started from Hongkong harbour, to join the squadron. The Dido frigate, in fact, arrived at Woosung, convoying transports with 2500 troops, on the very day that the attack was made at that place. The two commissioners transmitted to Peking the rumours of the destination of the armament, and depicted, in lively terms, the constant gathering of additional forces. To this the "great emperor" (Ta Hoangty) wrote, with the vermilion pencil, that the "outrageous conduct of the barbarians knew no bounds; that their proceedings had become detestable," &c.; but the provincial government was becoming paralyzed, and even the great emperor could not be heeded.

New Tajin, the governor, displayed con-

siderable energy on the 15th June, the day previous to the attack. He joined the encampment on the first intelligence of the advanced ships in the mouth of the river. A spirited paper was addressed to the Chinese troops. In this he made some trite citations from an imperial work, called the "Sacred Edict," periodically read to the people. They were told that "the nation was protected by the army, which in its turn it maintained. The emperor, who loved his people like children, spent many millions of taels upon the military to ensure their defence. The pay of the troops was the very marrow of the people; they should, therefore, exert their whole strength to fulfil such a high destiny." This was followed by another exhortation, in which the governor called on his men nobly to sacrifice their lives in a cause for which they had engaged to shed their blood. He promised great rewards to those who behaved well, but threatened immediate death to any one who left his gun or the ranks. Keying himself had, in consequence of the shameful cowardice of the Chinese troops on some late occasions, recommended that this portion of the military

code should be strictly enforced. Each soldier received a printed copy of the above to refresh his memory.

The next day, however, proved a sad sequel to all this preparation. The ships of the squadron anchored along the line of batteries, and, after about two hours' firing, the garrisons were driven out by the seamen and marines almost before the troops could be landed from their transports. As the walls were thick, and the Chinese soldiers did not wait for a closer combat on shore, their loss could not have been very great on this occasion, while that of the British was three killed and twenty wounded. The guns, however, taken or disabled were more than two hundred in number. The military commander displayed a degree of courage, deserving of truer followers and a better fate. He stood by his post to the last, and, at the conclusion, received a wound which at once deprived him of life. Such devotion was deemed worthy of canonization; and in one of the chief temples in Shanghae, I saw, in 1844, his image as large as life.

It must be reluctantly confessed, that the zealous *New* was one of the first to fly, leaving

his quarters to the victors, filled with state-papers, some of which have been embodied in this narrative. He was a thorough Chinese, and, like the rest of his tribe, vociferous for war while it was absent, but unable to sustain its presence; while the Tartars were generally advocates for peace, though they did their duty on an emergency. *New* was much better fitted for presiding over a council of literati, to determine some mysterious passage in the "Four Books," than for governing a province. His report of the action was almost as laconic as Cæsar's, though less triumphant: — "The rebels forced their way to Woosung; Chin the admiral is dead; Paoushan is lost." Then came, as usual, some little departures from the truth: — "The military commander maintained his ground for seven days; he sunk three ships, and wounded or killed several tens of barbarians. They fired from their masts down upon our intrenchments, and the position was no longer tenable."

In a subsequent paper New mentioned that the deceased Chin had told him of his escape in many battles from shot, against which he was proof, and that, having for

nearly fifty years fought at sea, the governor need not fear his not maintaining his post. "With this assurance I retired to my quarters, and on the next morning was roused by the roar of cannon. I immediately took the command of the forces, and the soldiers, observing me at their head, fought with desperation. I saw the shot falling on every side, and the rockets of the enemy spreading a sheet of fire over the ground, so that houses, and forts, and barracks were soon a heap of ruins. How happy should I have been to effect with my death the defeat of the invaders. Fortunately I reached the town of Paoushan, which was already abandoned. Nothing remained for me but flight, and I repaired to the nearest post to reorganize the scattered forces. Having done my utmost to raise the whole people against the enemy, I stood ashamed at the issue of my efforts. With ten thousand deaths I could not expiate my fault, especially when I place before my eyes the noble Chin who died for his country."

Shanghae was not prepared to hold out after the fall of its outwork, Woosung. A number of circumstances occurred to prove

that the people here were not on the best terms with their rulers. Shortly previous to the entrance of the city, the populace had taken advantage of the panic and disorder to destroy the public office of a mandarin who was generally detested. Nothing could be less patriotic than the readiness with which they lent their assistance to the invaders. Lieutenant Ouchterlony of the Madras engineers, who has given the best military account of the expedition, states that in the march of our land force from Woosung to Shanghae, along the left bank of the river, "the drag ropes of the guns, where an obstacle in the road rendered it necessary to unyoke the horses, were manned by Chinese labourers mingled with our artillerymen; and their merry laugh, as one of their number chanced to lose his hold and roll over, sounded as careless and joyous as if they were amusing themselves with their fellows of the village, instead of aiding in dragging against the city of their rulers those terrible engines."

As this rich and commercial town was earlier and more suddenly abandoned, by those who ought to have been its defenders,

than most others, so the plunder and devastation by the vagabond populace were more complete. No small portion of the fears of the Chinese government, now verging to a panic, was founded in the conduct of its own subjects. The farther the British force had got from Canton, and the nearer it approached the heart of the Empire, the better the inhabitants seemed disposed to the enemy, the less to be trusted by their own government, and the more predatory and lawless in every captured town. The winter's occupation of Ningpo, and its results, had increased the dread of the Chinese military, and at the same time augmented the security of the people, or at least their apathy, in relation to the victors.

With no more opposition than a few random shots from a battery on the river, which was presently deserted, the British force marched into Shanghae, and took possession of some excellent quarters in a public garden called Ching-hwang-meaou, a sort of Palais Royal, comprising shops, gardens, eating and tea rooms, and covering a much larger space of ground than its congener at Paris. The whole is attached to a temple, which, however,

forms an inconsiderable part of the establishment, intended evidently more for pleasure than devotion. Here "Corporal White," as he was called, a Chinese well known in the force as an occasional internuncio, who was first employed as messenger from Keshen when the squadron visited the mouth of the Peiho in 1840, made his appearance with overtures from Eleepoo, which however proved unsatisfactory. During the stay of the troops in Shanghae the Nemesis steamer explored the river beyond the town, but returned without encountering any of the enemy. It afterwards appeared that the smoke of the steamer had been seen from the rich and populous town of Soong-keang, to which there was not water enough for the Nemesis to proceed. About this time 2000 Chinese soldiers arrived from the south, and, hearing of the retrograde movement, took occasion, as usual, of the inestimable opportunity to claim a victory for which they had never fought. This being reported to the emperor, he expressed great satisfaction at so unexpected an event, and looked with hope to the future conduct of the successful general. All this appeared to derive

colour from the subsequent retirement of the British force from Shanghae; and the unfortunate sovereign of China enjoyed a hollow and short-lived gratification, too soon to be dispelled by greater disasters than the past.

On the 23rd June, Shanghae was evacuated, and the troops embarked in high order for farther operations up the Yangtsekeang. Yihking, with his disheartened forces, had remained all this while in Chĕkeang; but on hearing that Shanghae was relinquished by the British, he arrived, by slow marches and with very reduced numbers, at the town of Wooseih. The object of Eleepoo's pacific overtures had been, if possible, to prevent the British force proceeding up the great river, and with this view he had pleaded the second liberation of our prisoners. Keying, for the present, kept in the back ground. To him the emperor had entrusted the conduct of the forces, and he had made some attempt to cover Soochow, the twin of Hângchow in point of wealth and importance. Both of these great cities, by extraordinary luck, escaped a visit from the expedition. The official report of the government continued to

be written with a show of spirit; but the preparations for war languished daily, and the crisis was evidently at hand.

The British force assembled in the river consisted of fifteen men of war, ten steamers, and nearly fifty transports and troopships, making a total of above seventy vessels which were to navigate that hitherto unknown stream. On these were embarked 9000 bayonets, including marines, and 3000 disciplined seamen ready for service on shore in case of need. Such an armament was sufficient to tax the energies of a country better prepared than China. The fear that a portion, if not the whole, of it was destined for the neighbourhood of Peking, was now re-awakened at court in all its horrors, and the great emperor made preparations to decamp. The intention was to remove the seat of government to Shanse, as the vicinity of Peking to the sea coast made it unsafe against so daring an enemy. The treasure had even been packed, either wholly or in part; and, in a country where paper credit goes a very little way, this is, of course, always large. It was on the present occasion (in July or August, 1842),

that no less an amount than 9,000,000 of taels (about 3,000,000 sterling) were abstracted during the confusion by some parties, who have never to this day been discovered; though even the descendants of those who had charge of the treasure were then rendered answerable for its ultimate repayment.

The war party of Chinese at the capital were now silenced, and the advocates of peace in the ascendant. The following joint despatch was addressed by Keying, Eleepoo, and New Tajin to the emperor:—"Having ascertained that the barbarian vessels were proceeding onward, we consulted and resolved to obstruct the river and prevent their ingress; but their steamers and smaller vessels require little depth of water, and there is a sufficient number of traitorous natives to serve them as pilots. We deeply regret that the soldiers have lost all courage, and the people show not the least congenial feeling in the struggle. Though Eleepoo pointed out to the barbarians that they had failed in their obedience to the Celestial empire, they would consent to no armistice, and there is now a rumour of their

proceeding to Nanking and Tientsin. Though the rocks and banks in the river may obstruct their larger ships, the smaller vessels will find no impediment, and it is therefore advisable that the great army should be assembled under the walls of Nanking. As no time ought to be lost in making the necessary preparations, we have consulted with the military commanders, and shall take the requisite measures."

This was the official document, a copy of which was obtained among other correspondence. But Keying's private communications were far less reserved. He had long enjoyed, from his relationship and other circumstances, the unbounded confidence of the emperor. He took advantage of the privilege which he possessed, to tell unpalatable truths, and represented affairs in all their threatening aspects. There was no navy to dispute the passage of the Keang, no army to contest the landing, no means of making a stand. He assured the emperor that a continuance of the war had become absolutely impossible. Eleepoo was equally convinced of the necessity of making peace, but urged (with some show

of reason) that it should be done under the walls of Nanking. The emperor, he argued, had to maintain his dignity in the face of the whole nation. He had promised to crush all the barbarians, and not permit one to return home: he had even expressed his regret at not being able to take the field himself. From such a position he could not at once descend to propose terms of humiliation, and appear degraded before the whole empire. Unless the dire necessity for the step could silently plead in his behalf, and prove an existing force of circumstances beyond dispute, peace was not to be thought of, as there was still the chance of the English failing in getting up the river. The ministers, moreover, who had urged war were still in power, and their declaration that the Chinese empire and Great Britain should not co-exist, was still fresh in the memory of all. Therefore, before necessity plainly pleaded at Nanking, there should be no accommodation.

By a very extraordinary coincidence, on the 8th of July, when the British squadron was anchored off Foshan (the hill of Fo), and might fairly be said to have entered the river,

a nearly total eclipse of the sun took place, of all events the best calculated to carry dismay and consternation among the already disheartened Chinese, and make them reckon for certainty on a defeat.*

The general disorganization which attended the progress of the British expedition was daily felt far and wide. In China the poorest class which obtains a bare subsistence "*quocunque modo*" constitutes a very large proportion of the population, and becomes a fearful scourge when the pressure of rule and order is withdrawn. The power of government was lost or suspended in the universal panic. Thousands of robbers and plunderers rose in all quarters, following in the wake of the British force like beasts of prey, and carrying away every thing, even to the very doors and window-frames of the houses, so

* "The extravagancies of the populace during the obscuration caused by an eclipse are countenanced by the government. Though the emperor either does or ought to know better, he and his court go through sundry ceremonies on those occasions, and he affects sometimes to consider the eclipse as a warning to him for something wrong in the administration." — *The Chinese*, vol. ii. ch. 18.

that a town (unless while under the protection of its captors) was turned inside out. The principles of chartism and socialism became the order of the day, and, under the new change of owners, it might for once be said with some truth "*La propriété, c'est le vol.*" The thieves exercised the Rights of Man by murdering each other for the sake of the plunder, and piracy raged on the water as hotly as robbery on shore. Exertions were still made by the government to persuade the people against the evidence of their own senses. Because two steamers returned to the squadron a victory was proclaimed; and the Treasurer Hwang at Nanking published an account of the overthrow of the barbarians to quiet the excitement of the million. It was the anxiety arising from this state of anarchy which urged the government to get the invaders out of the river at every price, and they hardly pretended to disguise the fact.

It is astonishing that so little should have been done to check the progress of the British ships up the stream of a river which they were now navigating for the first time. The fire of a few inconsiderable forts, which were

very soon silenced, constituted the whole of the opposition experienced in the course of some hundred miles from Woosung. On a projecting point near the town of Keangyin, on the right bank of the river, a battery was erected, which, however, did not fire, and a party of seamen and marines took possession of the deserted post. At about twenty miles below Chinkeangfoo, a bend in the river presented a most favourable point for arresting the passage of the squadron, and two forts had been erected; but on the 14th of July these were soon silenced, and the garrison driven out, after which the way was clear to the mouth of the canal. Even when they reached Chinkeangfoo, within easy range of its walls, the whole squadron was allowed quietly to come to an anchor in the middle of the stream. The town appeared deserted, and it was not until the walls had been scaled, that the desperate resistance of the Tartars began. Did they calculate on the force passing on to Nanking without troubling them?

In regard to the depth and the navigable nature of the great Keang, the most sanguine expectations were far surpassed. It was

acknowledged by all to be the finest stream that they had ever seen. From Woosung to Nanking the distance is 200 miles, and at Nanking there was plenty of water for a line-of-battle ship, the Cornwallis, the first vessel that reached it. And yet for so many centuries it has been shut to European ships; as little known as the Niger, except for the Jesuits' map.

One of the most dangerous points in the river was near Tseaoushan (called by our countrymen Silver Island), and it was at first thought impossible to find any other channel but this, where the stream ran like a sluice. The Tartar general in command at Chinkeangfoo had here erected low batteries. The two small surveying steamers were the first to attempt the passage, and the forts opened upon them. They turned in among the reeds close at hand, and threw shells and rockets right in among the defenders. This effectually prevented a repetition of hostilities when the main squadron came up; but as the steamers returned to join the headmost ships, the officer in command, though he quitted his post, and retired to Chinkeangfoo, professed, as usual,

to claim the merit of having compelled them to retire.

On the 19th of July the Cornwallis, bearing the admiral's flag, was at anchor off Chinkeang-foo, a little below the celebrated Kinshan, or Golden Island. The Tartar general in charge of the important city of Chinkeang, the key to the Grand Canal, was Haeling, selected by the emperor on account of his high character for courage and ability. He was descended from a Manchow family which had been conspicuous in subduing China to the Tartar sway, and was said to have inherited the qualities of his ancestors. He had always professed a high contempt for the barbarous invaders, whom he regarded as mere pirates, that might easily be subdued by a display of the majesty of the empire. It may be supposed, however, that recent events had produced some change in his sentiments. On account of the hardships of service lately imposed on his Manchow troops he had applied for additional allowances, but the parsimonious Taoukwang, either from inability or avarice, refused his request, and fined him for making it. When the war approached near, he called on some other corps

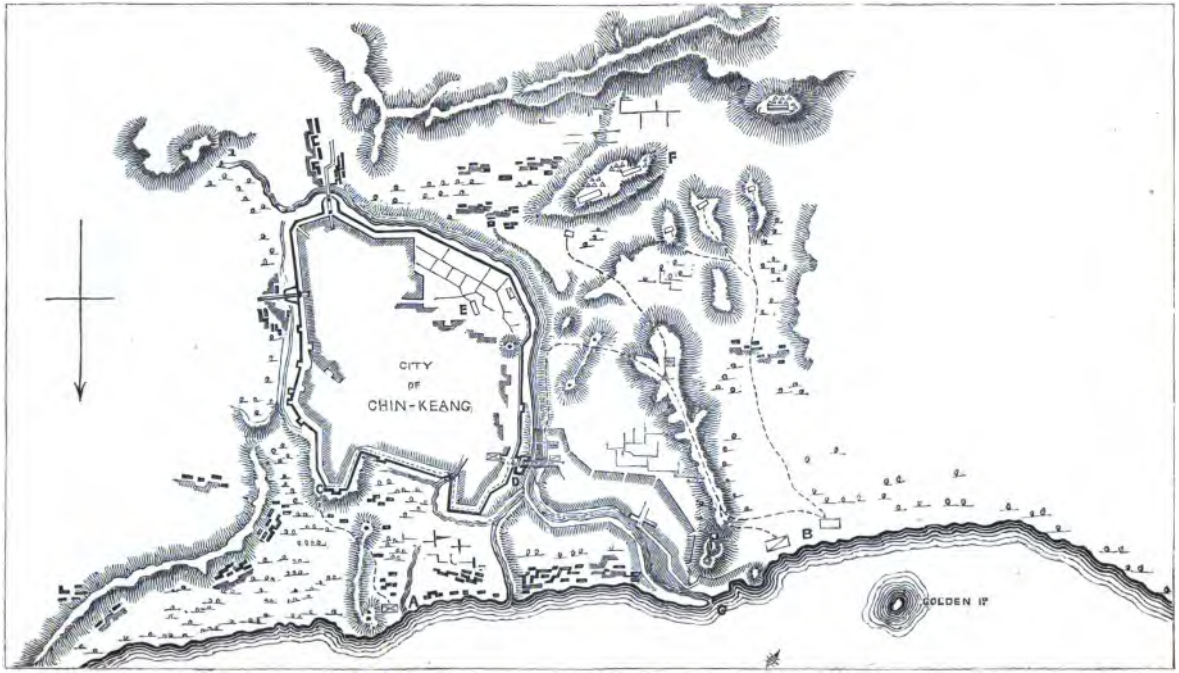
to come to his assistance, but the difficulties and excuses were so various, that the army assembled within and under the walls of Chinkeang was not very numerous. The commandant of Nanking, whose duty it was to support him, instead of sending troops to his assistance, declared that he should stand in need of all he possessed. Haeling was therefore thrown entirely on his own resources. He had prepared some formidable rafts to send down upon our shipping, composed of bitumen, camphor, and other highly inflammable ingredients. These, however, were by some accident set on fire before they were clear of the creek which contained them, and burned furiously for a number of hours, leading to the belief that the city itself and its suburbs were consuming. Had the whole of them been floated down the stream, it might have proved more formidable to the crowded shipping than such experiments had generally done. When this undertaking failed, and the great expense attending it proved fruitless, similar attempts were made with burning junks, but utterly without effect.

Haeling then determined on defending the

city to the last, when attacked, and calling his Tartars together, exhorted them not to let the English enter, except over their bodies. The military law was executed in all its severity on some individuals who flinched, as appeared from their lately executed and mangled bodies exposed on the ramparts. This place must always be of great importance, as guarding one of the mouths of the canal; but had the van of the expedition only reached it a few weeks earlier, a great portion of the money from the provinces might have been arrested. All had by this time passed up, as appeared from a report by the officer entrusted with the superintendence of the transit. The advantages of the position are so obvious, that the following remark respecting it was published some years before the enterprise was effected: "This place may at some future day become famous, by our war steamers or smaller vessels of war sailing up to it from the mouth of the great river to blockade the Imperial Canal." It proved that the largest ships might do the same.

Judging from the perfect quiet that reigned around after the explosion of the fire-rafts,

the readiness with which supplies came to the ships, and the apparently deserted ramparts of Chinkeangfoo, it was naturally expected that no farther resistance would be offered; instead of the most desperate that had ever yet been experienced, except from the Tartars at Chapoo. On the morning of the 21st of July, the troops disembarked in three brigades, one to escalade the walls at the north-east angle, and the other two, after dispersing the force assembled on some hills to the westward, to attack the city on that side. The excessive heat of the weather tended greatly to aggravate the toils of the day, and the deaths from the effects of the sun were about as numerous as those from the enemy. Whether from surprise, or some other unknown cause, the Tartars allowed our men to scale the wall almost without opposition, but when once there the carnage began. Two or three hours of hard fighting took place, before General Schoedde's column had made its way round the ramparts to the north-west angle, where, soon after their arrival, the gate was blown in by that under Sir Hugh Gough, and all farther opposition seemed to be over. But not yet. A party



CAPTURE OF CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

sent to scour the ramparts by the west, came upon Haeling himself and his faithful band of Tartars, among some houses and gardens. Their volley killed an officer of the 18th and some men, but the force, charging down upon them, bayoneted nearly the whole number. This was the last effort. Haeling retired to his house and deliberately burned himself to death on a pile of wood and official papers, nothing being found of him but the skull and the bones of the legs and feet; with his secretary concealed in an outhouse. Had the sort of determination, of which the general gave an example, been of a more active character, and more frequently expended on the field, it would have been of more service to the Chinese cause.

The suicides and domestic immolations here perpetrated exceeded those at Chapoo in extent and barbarity. Numbers of the defeated Tartars hurried home, and, after butchering all the females of their family, destroyed themselves. In some cases, the women turned their hands upon each other and their children, drowning, hanging, poisoning, without mercy to themselves or others. The plunder by the

rabble was more desperate here than elsewhere, and the city remained a monument of death and desolation. And yet Dr. Gutzlaff says that from his personal observation the marauders were not professional robbers, but the lower order of peasantry and citizens, left without government or control, to exercise the rights of "communism," or turn their arms against each other in the contest for the spoil.

CHAPTER X.

ADVANCE ON NANKING TO CONCLUSION OF PEACE.

It has been seen that Eleepoo had tried measures of conciliation at Shanghae. When the news of the fate of Chinkeangfoo reached him, he was struck dumb at the loss of a place and a body of men so precious to his sovereign. In a moment of agony he addressed a despatch to the emperor that all was lost, and peace a matter of necessity for the preservation of the country, and the Tartar rule. A similar despatch proceeded from Keying, and strengthened the appeal. Both could now plead the urgency for preserving their monarch and their whole tribe from utter ruin, and few words were sufficient when facts spoke so plainly. Northern China, but especially the court, cannot subsist without supplies from the south. The empire was now severed into two parts; not only were the communications interrupted, but the southern

half left to take care of itself. Seeing his own prætorian bands, the only force on which he could rely against the rebellious Chinese, fallen a prey to the invaders, the prestige of their invincibility destroyed, and the people disenthralled from that fear which was the foundation of the Manchow rule, no choice was left but peace on any terms. "Captain White" soon reappeared as the bearer of a friendly message from the pacific commissioner, and from him Dr. Gutzlaff gathered intelligence of the terror that had seized on all.

Conciliation became the order of the day. On the arrival of the Blonde, a rich merchant came with offers from Yangchowfoo, beyond Kwachow on the Grand Canal, a larger city than Chinkeang, and one of the richest in the empire. All seemed to be aware that the war was coming to a crisis. The former perfidy of the Chinese government fully entitled them to any amount of distrust from the British; but their fright was now sufficient to make them in earnest. In lieu of the accustomed system of subterfuge and shuffling, it was soon to appear that dire necessity had

imposed unwonted straightforwardness and good faith, as the only remedy for intolerable evils. In reply to the application from Keying and Eleepoo, the secretary of the late Tartar General Haeling was charged with a despatch, which he carried to Nanking, now the important destination of the squadron.

On the 4th of August the Cornwallis anchored in the neighbourhood of that very gate of Nanking which, twenty-six years before, had been rudely shut in the face of the British ambassador. On the 21st October 1816, the boats of Lord Amherst's embassy were anchored at the foot of a high rock called *Yen-tse-shan*, or "The Swallow's Hill," called by the expedition "the Swallow's Nest." On the same day they proceeded on for some hours until they reached the suburbs of the outer wall of Nanking on the north side. This passage occurs in a journal: — "The comparative liberty which we subsequently enjoyed was to be attributed to the firmness of the ambassador in resenting an attempt to shut the gates upon him, as he was entering them during a walk on shore; and we were glad to observe a marked improvement

in the behaviour of our conductors as the consequence of this little adventure." * Opposite to that very gate, about a quarter of a cen-

* Nanking was thus described in Lord Amherst's embassy. "On entering within the wall, we walked to the top of a very high hill, from whence we could plainly see at a distance the inhabited part of the city, and the famous porcelain tower, which, however, is porcelain in nothing but the tiles with which it is faced. The larger portion of the area within the wall, though no doubt thickly inhabited when this was the residence of the emperor, is now a mere waste, or laid out in gardens of vegetables, with occasional clumps of trees. The space enclosed is more irregular in shape than almost any other city of China, no doubt owing to the inequality of the surface; as the northern part, where we were, is composed in a great measure of lofty hills. In the small proportion which the inhabited part bears to the whole area of the ancient walls, Nanking bears a striking resemblance to modern Rome; though the walls of Nanking were not only much higher, but more extensive, being about twenty miles in circuit. The unpeopled areas of both these ancient cities are alike, in as far as they consist of hills and remains of paved roads, and scattered cultivation; but the gigantic masses of ruin which distinguish modern Rome are wanting in Nanking, since nothing in Chinese architecture is lasting except the walls of their cities." One exception to this was discovered by the officers of the expedition in 1842, being some very curious tombs of the Ming or Chinese dynasty, near the south-east angle of the walls, but on the outside. So that ancient and wise rule, to have no interments within their cities, seems to have extended to the imperial family.

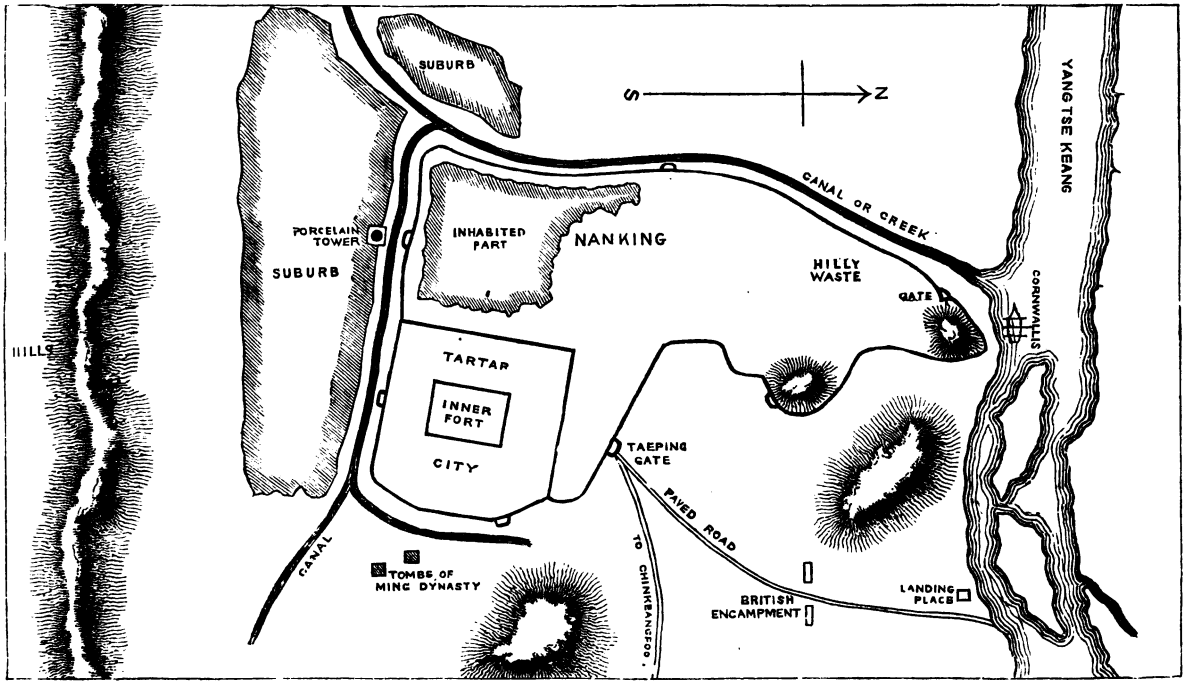
tury afterwards, it was destined that severe terms should be dictated by a victorious British force.

The last successful attack on Nanking by a foreign force was on the part of the Japanese, who withdrew from the river only on the payment of a large indemnity. That strangers from the far West, natives of two not very dissimilar islands at an immense distance, should invade this sacred spot with ten times the power, certainly had not (until within the last few months) ever entered the mind of a Chinese. What the Tartar Keshen vaguely apprehended, but Keying and Eleepoo more clearly foresaw, had now come to pass. The Chinese war party, more ready to despise danger at a distance than to deal with it when present, were now entirely disgraced. Taoukwang was obliged to confess that the lately despised enemy was too strong for him, and that, as long as they remained in the great river, his empire over his Chinese subjects was in imminent danger of dissolution.

The emperor's disgraceful kinsman Yihking, who had (since his disasters near Ningpo) always kept at a respectful distance from the

scene of hostilities, on learning that Keying and Eleepoo were on the high road towards concluding a peace, declared that he was ready to decide the question by a battle; that the barbarians were now in the heart of the country, caught in a net, and surrounded on all sides by the forces of China. He blamed the two pacific commissioners in the strongest terms, as traitors and cowards, and was at first supported by the Tartar general of Nanking, who had refused to go to the succour of Chinkeang. But Keying and Eleepoo were too well aware of the strength of their position, and returned his taunts by asking him why he had not come to the rescue of Shanghae? why he had not opposed the enemy at Chinkeang? and why he had not now hastened to the aid of Nanking, with such a rare opportunity for the display of his valour?

The commissioners were not without obstacles and hindrances on the spot, in the execution of their thorny task. New Tajin, a perfect Chinese, would have gone to work in the old way of subterfuge and delay. He was for getting the squadron away from Nanking, with a view to render the terms less oppres-



PLAN OF NANKING.

sive. These symptoms of bad faith put a stop to incipient negotiations. The landing of troops commenced on the 10th of August; the artillery were encamped on shore, and a place selected for the assault on the eastern side of the walled area. A frigate moved into the creek by the town, whence her guns could annoy a large portion of the interior; the Cornwallis occupied a threatening position near the north angle, and the word only was wanting to place Nanking in possession of the force.

The city itself was ill provided for resistance. The immense enceinte of the walls, above twenty miles in circuit, it was impossible to man with the existing troops, though a good show of tents, as usual, was made along the ramparts. The supply of guns was still more inadequate. The troops who were to make the great stand were about 2000 Manchows, and they would have fought hard (as already experienced when pent in a corner) for the defence of their hearths. But the recent fate of their countrymen must have given them some apprehensions as to their own. There was, also, a great dearth of pro-

visions. Confidence had ceased, and the supplies from the neighbouring country were impeded in their accustomed passage through the gates, now generally closed. By the disruption of dykes, following on an unusual rise of the waters of the river, a large portion of the country was entirely flooded. Thus to the miseries of war were simultaneously added natural calamities, which reduced the whole territory to the most helpless condition.

But perhaps the most ominous, as well as disheartening, sign of the times was the utter apathy and indifference of the people to the progress of the invaders. To take part with their Tartar rulers, and fight for them against the enemy, seemed utterly foreign to the inclinations of the great body of the Chinese people. Experience had shown, at Chusan and elsewhere, that even as *conquerors* the English had spared them more than their own government. No contributions whatever in the way of taxation were levied by us in that island, during the whole period of its occupation; but private property was protected. While no hope of co-operation existed on the side of the people, Taoukwang was in too much

fear for himself to detach any succours to Nanking. The Tartar commandant of this city at length felt his weakness, and reported to the emperor that it was in the most imminent danger. The "terror-spreading general," Yihking, had not afforded him the least support, but kept aloof at a distance in his own camp. The only troops that had joined him were the fugitives from Chinkeang. He therefore found it his duty to declare that the city was helpless, and he could not answer for the consequences of an attack upon it.

This declaration smoothed the way for the commissioners. Eleepoo now, in conjunction with the governor New Tajin, — at length a convert, — ventured officially to address the emperor, and to lay publicly before the council all that had been before communicated with more reserve. — "We are," they said, "surrounded by perils, and in such straits, that any unforeseen circumstances may produce ruin. We have, therefore, at the hazard of our lives, consented to the demands of the barbarians, in order to save the country. While submitting the proposed conditions, we ask for ourselves the severest penalty."

They then stated the various articles of the stipulations, and added, "The English affirmed that, on the settlement of these demands, an everlasting peace might be established; but if the conditions were not accepted, they were prepared immediately to proceed farther." What follows, refers to the landing of artillery and troops on the 10th of August, in consequence of symptoms of bad faith: — "While engaged in conference, the barbarians heard a false rumour of the march of soldiers to effect their destruction. They therefore hoisted the red flag, and declared that they would commence hostilities the next morning. As they are fierce and savage in battle, we drew out our soldiers; but, on stationing them over a circumference of 60 le, it appeared that the strength of the forces was inadequate to the defence. The troops from the provinces are disheartened, and cannot be relied on. The Chung-hill, besides, overlooks the whole city, and the barbarians can fire down upon us.* Add to this, that the inhabitants are dismayed; and, when the rumour of an attack reached

* From that point the attack was to have been made.

them, some myriads thronged round our officers, and with tears implored us to save their lives.

"On looking back since the barbarians rose in rebellion against us, and successively attacked our provinces, it has appeared that none of our generals could prevail against them, or repress their deadly spirit. Their vessels are now increased to about eighty; they have taken possession of the great canal, completely obtained the mastery on the Yangtse, and severed our empire in two. To make it worse, they are pressing on Nanking, and have put everything in the utmost hazard. We perceive the inextricable difficulties in which we are placed. If we remain obstinate, the city of Nanking will be lost, and Ganhoey, Keangse, and Hoopih, as well as other provinces, open to their invasion. And even where their successes do not lead them, traitorous natives will carry on the work of confusion and plunder.

"Under these circumstances we propose (though death is too small a punishment for us) that the demands of the English be confirmed. We are aware that their requests betray an insatiable avidity; still they confine

their objects to commerce, and have no ulterior sinister views. We accordingly determined, for the preservation of Keangnân, and for putting a stop to the frightful calamities of war, to agree to their conditions; assuring them, with an oath, that if they showed regret at the misery they had caused, and concluded an armistice, their proposals should be sanctioned. Should they, however, betray fickleness and not become amenable, we must call on our soldiers bravely to defend the city, no matter whether victory or defeat be the issue.

"We are sensible of our ingratitude for imperial favours. Engaged in a very important trust, we have been unable to inspire awe for the subjugation of these enemies. We have shown rashness in presenting these demands, and our crimes are beyond reckoning. In forwarding this memorial, with fear and trembling we await the severest punishment."

To this the emperor sent the following reply: — "Whatever promotes the welfare of innumerable living beings, I am obliged to grant; and the representations of my servants point out the necessity for putting a stop to

troubles, and preserving the empire. The proposals submitted should be made a subject of discussion. As the barbarians, however, will retire from the Yangtse, and give up Chaoupaou Shan (the citadel of Chinhae), the trade to four of the ports may be granted; but Foochow is excepted. You my ministers will distinctly point out that their commerce has hitherto, for two hundred years, been peacefully carried out through the Hong merchants, and our mandarins* have never interfered in such matters. In all transactions of the kind, the settlement of prices presents endless details, and our officers are ignorant of the language of the different nations. The authorities could do no more than punish the native merchants who had been unjust in their dealings.

"The payment of the first six millions ought to be immediately made, as an earnest of our

* In the subsequent paper it will appear that the invading squadron are designated as "merchants;" and the pretended supposition in the above passage is, that the Chinese officers were expected to trade with them. But, of course, all parties were really much better informed, excepting, perhaps, the emperor himself, who is always the last to know the truth.

good faith." After assenting to the other stipulations, Taoukwang directs his ministers to declare to the English, that the emperor had treated them with sincerity, and granted their principal demands, and their trade ought henceforward to be carried on in peace and harmony; adding, "We shall repair our dilapidated fortifications, and, moreover, dispose of our troops as we deem proper; such things ought not to give umbrage to the barbarians. *Be careful to make such arrangements as shall cut off for ever all causes of war, and do not leave any thing incomplete, or liable to doubt.*"— This is the most significant passage of the whole.

The commissioners afterwards reported that they had done all in their power "to inculcate the great principles of justice, but the barbarian *merchants* remained obstinate in their demands, and contradicted us as heretofore. They are willing to retire from the Yangtse as soon as the first six millions are paid, and to interfere no longer with the navigation of the canal. Tinghae (Chusan) and Koolangsoo they refused to give up, before the whole of the stipulated sum (21,000,000 dollars) be paid,

but were prevailed on to evacuate Chaoupaou Shan (the citadel of Chinhae). They subsequently expressed their gratitude for having obtained the imperial assent to the trading regulations, and only hoped that the great emperor would affix his seal thereto, that the stipulations might be the more binding.

"We perceived that they sincerely lamented the evils of the war; but there might yet be a re-action, and we therefore intreat your majesty to grant their request, by appending the seal to this treaty. Our sacrifices are truly great; but if we did not make them, our losses would be far greater, and what we save is of the highest importance."

The commissioners had become convinced of the policy, for this once at least, of proceeding with good faith, as the only means of averting the impending catastrophe. They sent ample reports of all the conferences, without deviating from the truth as to *facts* (though not *names*), a proceeding without many examples in China.

We shall have to observe the speculations of these miserable politicians as to the intentions of the French. The honourable offer of

mediating between the belligerents had been made by Captain Cécille, commanding the French frigate La Cléopâtre. This excited all kinds of suspicions on the part of the Chinese. We have seen that they had hoped for the armed interference of some Christian powers against the English; but, disappointed in this, every thing else was distasteful. It would no doubt be very agreeable to China to see two European states contending together on her account; a contingency of all others the least probable, however, as it is the obvious business of the civilized world to unite in converting the Chinese from their anti-social system, instead of assisting them in it; and these last have, since the war, had opportunities enough of observing the cordiality that existed among the representatives of the several foreign nations on their coast, and being thereby disabused of their groundless anticipations.

The commissioners observed, in one of their reports to Peking, "We thought there might be some sinister designs in the communications of the French in the Woosung river, of which we received the particulars from the

governor of the province; but we shall take care to manage things in a safe manner.

"We had an interview with Pottinger, to deliberate farther concerning the treaty. It is true that the interference in commercial affairs of the mandarins would occasion much trouble; but still the Hong merchants have greatly oppressed foreigners, and the English wish to establish consuls at the several ports, — a measure which would materially tend to coerce their people. Their homes are myriads of miles distant from the celestial empire, and the English would feel grateful if their families were permitted by imperial favour to reside in the ports open to their commerce. Foochow, concerning which much discussion has arisen, is a great market for teas; it has likewise a custom-house, and for many years has been the port for Loochoo junks. The English, having been refused this, have hinted that they would propose in lieu of it Tientsin, which is close to Peking. For the tea trade, no port is more convenient than Foochow*, and it is also far to the south. This is all in favour of their resort to that city, and we accordingly

* Not so on experience.

trust that their exclusion from Foochow may not be pressed. It is not well to be very inflexible in our views, and thereby give rise to other discussions which might end in Tientsin being opened to their commerce. We ask this the more, as the English have acted with uniform sincerity in these matters, and Pottinger has never deviated from what he engaged to do.

"We may also remark that the barbarians are influenced by their women, and governed by natural affection. The presence of females at the ports would therefore soften their natures, and give us less anxiety as to outbreaks. If they are settled at our ports with all that is dear to them, and with storehouses full of goods, they will be in our power, and prove more manageable.

"On considering the whole question in all its bearings, we have set our seals to the treaty; and though at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the great emperor, and rendering ourselves worthy of punishment, we again intreat that the assent of our sovereign may be appended. According to the arrangements concluded, the barbarian fleet will quit

the river in the 8th month, and no longer prevent the grain junks from proceeding northward. When the river is clear we shall despatch a report to the capital."

Of the three who signed the treaty, Eleepoo was the most consistent and earnest advocate of peace. He was at the time suffering from the illness which not long afterwards proved fatal, and too weak to support himself. "I am an old man," he argued, "and after serving my country for so many years am now on the verge of the grave. Unconcerned about the indignation which may arise from my having advised conciliation, or the punishment which perhaps will overtake me for being instrumental to concluding a convention, I shall spend my last breath in asking peace for my country, and thus finish my career. Death will free me from the obloquy that such a step will entail, and this salutary and indispensable measure will ultimately speak for itself."

To Keying the case was comparatively new, for until lately he had been occupied at a distance in Manchouria. But he was thoroughly acquainted with the true interests of the Tartar dynasty. Taught by recent events, he

proceeded on the conviction that this war could not go on without endangering the throne. He acted on private instructions, to consider no sacrifice too great to prevent such a crisis, and that whatever was done with that view would be approved, if not by the cabinet (of whom some are always Chinese), yet by the emperor and the high Manchow officers. With him it was a question of facts and figures. He showed that so much would be lost by protracting the struggle, and so much gained by immediately bringing it to a conclusion. When difficulties occurred, he dispelled them by the short and cogent argument, "If we do not make peace, all is lost." His powers were very unusual,—in Chinese, *Pien-e-hing-sze**—"plenipotentiary" in the fullest sense of the term. Hence the absence of that usual feeling of responsibility which cramps most Chinese officers, and makes them mere puppets moved by wires at Peking. Dr. Gutzlaff accompanied him home, after the signature of the treaty on board the Cornwallis. Keying was at first lost in thought, but, gradually re-

* Literally, "To act according to expediency."

covering himself, remarked, "I was a great friend of Keshen's; my views were the very same as his own, though I have gone much farther than he ever dared to do, or could have done; but the case demanded it, and I have performed my duty." Eleepoo was agitated; in addition to his age he was suffering from the climate, at that time so fatal to both natives and strangers. He had recourse to his Budhist beads, which he told incessantly, and appeared to be occupied with his approaching end.

New Tajin, the third signer of the treaty, and a Chinese, was of a totally different stamp from his colleagues. He acted purely on compulsion; and while obliged to acknowledge that the peace was indispensable, he could not help bewailing in bitter terms the immense sacrifices it imposed. What most grieved him was putting China on a level with "barbarian" states, and doing away with the long assumed superiority of mandarins. His Chinese prejudices were so strong that he preserved a sullen silence during the interviews, never speaking but when absolutely obliged. Despair of the cause he had so long advocated

(he was like most Chinese of the war party) seemed to have taken possession of his mind; and he was naturally alarmed for himself, having held out visionary expectations, and shown no great share of common sense in his proceedings.

Not much more than a year had elapsed since the word peace was proscribed, and now it became little less hazardous to hint at its opposite. A vast change took place in the demeanour of the government functionaries, proving their versatility on occasion. Some years back, a provincial officer of no great rank had endeavoured (though he was not permitted) to take precedence of a British ambassador, but now a sort of magic change came over all. Instead of being proud and punctilious, they were the most polite of individuals, ready to conciliate and be of service. They were flattered by a visit, and never failed to treat all who came near them with the greatest civility. The populace, as we have seen, with the exception of the rabble of Canton, had shown more curiosity than dislike to the victors, and were always ready to profit by the success of our arms to plunder

their richer countrymen. Those on the shores of the Yangtse had now little time to attend to any thing but their own misfortunes, the inundations of the river having swept away their dwellings and harvest in one undistinguishing flood. The trade on the river did not suddenly resume its former train, but lingered for months. No vessel could ascend the stream except by tracking, so violent was the current, and many ships of the British fleet ran aground while quitting the river.

The observations made by the force confirmed those of Lord Amherst's embassy. The soil immediately along the shores is very marshy, and though productive in favourable, entirely flooded in wet, seasons. Both sides of the river are thickly lined with a species of reed which forms an inexhaustible source of profit to the inhabitants, being used for repairing the banks of the canal. Innumerable creeks communicate with the river, and on these the villages are situated, consisting of miserable mud houses. The residents have an unhealthy, aguish look, many of them with swollen legs. Strange that, where so much land exists adapted to pasture, no cattle

are to be seen. Wherever rice can grow, it is planted; but, on all other spots, the rank aquatic weeds grow unchecked. Amidst much apparent means of agricultural wealth, an abject poverty seems to prevail, and the population scarcely possesses the necessaries of life. On the north bank of the river, nearly opposite to Chinkeangfoo and the "golden island," is a deserted city called *Kwachow* *, by the side of that entrance to the canal, of a most antique as well as desolate appearance. Yet this city is in the very centre of the annual track of the grain junks, and it is difficult to explain its fallen condition, except as owing to the exactions of the government officers.

* Noticed thus in the embassy. "We were occupied in exploring the half-deserted town of *Kwachow*, whose name signifies the island of gourds, being completely insulated by the river and branches of the canal. We walked along the top of the walls, which were as usual of great thickness, and afforded a broad level platform behind the parapet: the parapet itself, about six feet high, did not in thickness exceed a brick and a half, and the embrasures were evidently not constructed for cannon, being much too high. A very considerable portion of the area within the walls consisted of burial grounds planted with cypress; and this alone was a sufficient proof of the decayed condition of the place, as in modern, or fully inhabited, cities, no person can be buried within the walls."

From this point up the great river to the Poyang lake, a distance of 300 miles, the Yangtsekeang was observed and described by Lord Amherst's embassy; and there is less reason to regret that no reconnaissance was made by a steamer of the squadron, which might, perhaps, have disturbed the negotiations for peace. The previously unknown portion, from Kwachow to the sea, has been scientifically surveyed by our own ships, and we have now, of course, far better charts of it than the Chinese themselves. Every observation has tended to lead to the conviction, that, as far as the river is known to us, — a distance of 350 to 400 miles,— it presents the finest field for steam navigation to the very inmost parts of China.

APPENDIX.

CHINESE WORK ON THE NATIONS OF THE WEST, BY LIN, THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONER.

THAT the address to the emperor, which concludes at page 89., was from Commissioner Lin, has been proved by a much more extensive and elaborate production of the same author, "Statistical Notices of the Kingdoms of the West," in fifty books, and twelve volumes. A copy was obtained, with some difficulty, at Shanghae, and, after being examined and abstracted by Dr. Gutzlaff, passed into French hands, and went to Paris.

When that very active and energetic functionary Lin resided at Canton in his high official capacity, and got involved with Europeans, he availed himself of the aid of interpreters, and of every work he could procure, either native or foreign, to obtain a knowledge of the *Terra incognita*, that is, of every country of the world beyond China. For this pur-

pose he availed himself of the Missionary Tracts, the Chinese Monthly Magazine, a Treatise on Commerce, a Description of the United States, and of England, a work on Geography, &c., &c., which were all, more or less, abridged or abstracted. Translations were also made of all such articles in the newspapers as contained any thing concerning China, and especially opium. His compilation devoted some pages to the subject of gunnery; and there was a diagram, containing the very point discussed in Sir Francis Head's late work — the *dispart* of a piece of ordnance, that is, the angle of difference between the line of the bore and the line of the upper surface of the gun, to be corrected by a raised sight over the muzzle. This was found practically applied, during the expedition to Canton of 1847, in the wooden sights attached to the guns within the batteries captured and disabled on the 2nd and 3rd of April. One of these sights was handed to me by Lieut. Colonel Brereton, who commanded the Royal Artillery on that occasion, and it has the number and range of the gun marked upon it.

The compilation in its original state was presented by Lin to one of the inferior officers of the Peking council, who searched diligently

among the state papers, and added a number of articles himself. Thus completed, the work was handsomely printed, and circulated in the summer of 1844 among the higher officers of government at the capital and in the provinces. It is a strange compound of truth and fiction, history and fable; but better than any thing of the sort that had preceded it. There are geographical and statistical accounts of foreign countries, with the Chinese records of antiquity respecting the Roman empire and western Asia.

Inasmuch as it lays open the views of the Peking court in relation to Great Britain, the work is interesting and curious; for, though most of the schemes and speculations are chimerical and absurd, some of them might, in the course of years, be realized, or at least attempted. It contemplates, as the *summum bonum* of Chinese foreign policy, the divisions of European or Christian states among themselves, by which China would be enabled still to exclude and defy them all; the *opposite* course being the true policy of the other parties.

The following are extracts: — "This present compilation differs from all others, being composed, not from our Chinese records, but

from what foreigners have said upon each subject. The object is to enable us to attack barbarians with barbarians, to control barbarians by barbarians, and to avail ourselves of the superiority of barbarians to master barbarians; for which purpose these lucubrations may serve as a text-book."

The writer reviews, with regret, the events of the past war, and proposes, in case of a second emergency, a different system of defence. The existing ideas of the government, respecting Chusan and Hongkong, are conveyed in these terms:—

"Chusan is one of the islands of the Chĕkeang group. As a point to defend, it affords no access to any important territory; in regard to wealth, it has a poor soil; in extent it is a mere speck (fifty by twenty miles); and, during the Ming dynasty, was not incorporated with the empire by Tangwa. In the eighth year of Shunche (1652), Wâng, a minister and councillor of state, observed that the present dynasty had abandoned Chusan, as its occupation was useless. The commanding officer of the Tartar troops in garrison there was accordingly recalled. These were the solemn words of foresight, uttered by experienced men,—the founders of our empire.

Thus the predecessors of Kanghe rejected the island as beyond the pale of civilization. The city is situated close to the sea shore, the cannon of ships command the town as well as the environs, and it can bear no comparison with either Formosa, Haenan, or Tsoongming.

"But the coast of Ningpo district and Tienshan, the southern shore being cleared, could be turned into fertile territory. Yet this has been prohibited, while we sent a considerable force to preserve a solitary island, and thus furnished the barbarians with an opportunity to coerce us, to the great detriment of our country.

"If it be asked, what is to be done, I answer, abandon Tinghae, and remove the inhabitants to Nantien. In the event of a war, pretend to retreat from Chinhae, to entice the enemy to enter the river; and when they have come to the narrow passage, stop up the egress, availing yourself of wind and tide to attack them with fire-rafts.

"With respect to Hongkong, in Canton province, I may remark that this, though it affords a safe anchorage many miles in circumference, yet stands as a solitary spot on the ocean, in the same relation to Canton as Chusan to

Ningpo. The barbarians who wish to trade with us must enter the Bogue, and only then can they carry on commerce. If we do not allow them to have any commercial relations, the lonely spot Hongkong will be of no use to them. The island is 300 *le* distant from Canton, and above 200 from the Bogue, and does not afford a commanding station for harming us."

The writer proceeds in his argument respecting other ports, and finally asserts that the Yangtse might be fortified in such a manner as to defy the entrance of any enemy. His views on this subject are entirely Chinese, but have already been partly carried into effect by erecting sundry forts to command the narrow passages. A whole volume is occupied with the construction of forts on an improved principle, and casting guns on an European model,— being extracts from some English work, whence the subject of the *dispart* of guns (already noticed) was taken. These rules were clumsily and imperfectly applied in the Foshan foundry above Canton, and in other works, without producing any material improvements.

Upon the foreign policy of China, the remarks are as under: — "It is our custom to

attack pirates with pirates; and why should we not assail in the same manner barbarians who have come many thousands of *le* over the sea. But to do this effectually, we must make ourselves fully acquainted with the state of foreign affairs. The English respect three hostile powers, viz. Russia, France, and the United States; they fear four of our tributary states, viz. Cochin China, Siam, Ava, and Nepal (!). In the event of a war, we can attack them in two ways: — 1. by land. 2. by water.

"1. Their most vulnerable point by land is India, against which we can array the Russians and Nepalese.* India lies to the south-west of the Himalaya mountains, which separate it from Thibet; but is distant from England many thousand *le*, while Nepal and Birmah border upon it. The Russian army would have to come by way of the Yellow (Black) and Caspian seas, where intervenes the territory of several tribes of nomades, whom they have first to conquer; and they will then be separated only by a snowy range, which is guarded by considerable forces.

"Bengal, Malacca, Bombay, and Madras,

* The Commissioner Lin evidently picked up much of this information from some foreigner at Canton.

produce opium in abundance, from whence the English derive annually a revenue of above ten millions. The Russians have for a long while coveted the possession of this sum; and when the English carried on the war with the central empire, they apprehended that the former waited for an opportunity of wresting Hindostan from them. It was then reported that a Russian envoy had left Petersburgh for China.

"During the reign of Kanghe, foreigners were employed in bringing about a treaty with the Russians, and these were since used to press Changkihurh (Jehanghir), a Mahomedan chief, very dangerous to China.* Why should they not serve us in the same manner in regard to India? Nepal is to the west of Thibet. When we, under Keaking, attacked the Ghorkas, the English likewise assaulted them. On this account they (the Ghorkas) stated to our resident in Thibet, that they wished to march soldiers in order to fall upon India. If we had permitted the Nepalese to disturb the east of India, while the Russians had made a diversion in the west, Hindostan would have been involved in danger, and the

* He was enticed into the Chinese power, and cruelly put to death at Peking.

vessels of these barbarians might have had enough to do to look after the affairs of their own possessions. These projects might be adopted, but we must employ foreigners to carry them into effect.

"2. To attack them by sea we may avail ourselves of the French and Americans. France is separated from England only by a strait; America by an ocean. The former had established colonies, which the English took, and hence there existed the deepest enmity. When the Americans rose on account of the oppressive taxes levied by the English, the French assisted them with a powerful armament to expel the enemy by cutting off their provisions. Thus the English were obliged to conclude a peace with the loss of many states, while they retained only four on the north-eastern part. In India, both the French and Dutch had colonies: the English, however, waged war against them, and took those belonging to the various European powers.

"Of the nations repairing to Canton, the English only have shown themselves proud and insolent, while the French and Americans have proved very reverentially obedient to China. When the trade was put a stop to, the English gave rise to great discontent

among all other nations by blockading our ports: had they not soon ceased to do so, the latter would have sent for men-of-war to settle the point with them.* After the fight at Canton, the American chief brought about a settlement, and Elliot would only ask for a legal trade. When our soldiers attacked the foreign factories, and by mistake wounded some Americans, their chief did not exert himself on their account.

"In that very year, during winter, a French chief came to Canton, and asked for an interview with the Tartar general to communicate matters of importance. He stated that he wished to proceed to Chĕkeang (the British were in possession of Ningpo), and hold consultation with the English barbarians, to prevail on them to abstain from exorbitant demands. But the matter was not reported to the throne until the sixth month of the following year (August 1842, when before Nanking), because we supposed that the French had some sinister designs. The English having proceeded up the Yangtse, a French vessel (La Cléopâtre, Capt. Cécille) came to Shanghae, and requested a boat of us to take them up

* See p. 138.

the river. When, however, the French had reached their destination, the affairs of the treaty were already settled, and they had to return with regret. We might, therefore, have availed ourselves of their services.

"But what have we been doing? After a commercial intercourse of 200 years, we still ask by what way we can get to England. What is the distance of England from Russia? How far do the Mahomedan tribes of Tartary extend? We refuse the Ghorkas, when, to show their devotion, they propose to attack India. When the French and Americans wish to arrange the affair for us, we harbour suspicions. Can this be called attention to our foreign relations? The Hân dynasty employed the inhabitants of Central Asia to attack the Huns; the Tâng dynasty made use of the Turfans to fall upon India; while Kanghe availed himself of Dutch ships to assail Formosa. We are merely anxious that none should join our enemies against us, while we do not care to form a confederacy in our own favour against the enemy. We are only solicitous that our own affairs should not be known abroad, and indifferent as to learning the state of things in foreign countries. But the only way to manage our own business

properly is to have a good knowledge of foreigners, and for this purpose we want an institution to translate foreign books.

"Let us now, in this time of peace, adopt the superior improvements of barbarians in order to control barbarians with greater effect; as we would before have employed barbarians to fight against barbarians. Three kinds of improvement are required, — a navy, good fire-arms, and a regular army.

"The English are now in possession of Hongkong, and proud above all other barbarians. Being wealthy, they greatly extend their influence. Let us now follow their example, and take up a commanding position in the East. If we establish docks like other nations, construct fast-sailing and good ships, this would certainly answer. We have received great injury from opium; but should we not, on the other hand, reap great advantages from the superior skill of foreigners? Both the French and Americans brought artisans to Canton who could construct ships: should we not employ European seamen to teach us sailing, as we formerly did European astronomers."

The writer next goes into the expenditure which the execution of his plans would re-

quire; and concludes with advising that the government should establish steam navigation upon the rivers. Then follow some remarks upon fire-arms. But he adds, "So long as we have not an army properly disciplined and paid, even these preparations would be of no avail." Some remarks follow upon the necessity of remodelling the army in China.

Two serious obstacles existed to the adoption of these suggestions,—the old age and obstinacy of the emperor, averse from innovations, and the ruinous state of the finances. The only effort was the adoption of some ships, on the European model, at Canton; but when these were boarded and examined at the Bogue, they appeared infinitely less efficient in Chinese hands than their own junks. The dirt and confusion on board were indescribable; and our Jacks, after a hearty laugh at the arrangements, amused themselves by drinking tea with the crew and pulling their tails.

The compiler adverts subsequently to the revenue, and asserts that China is annually drained of several millions by opium. This he tries to prove by the balance of trade, showing that the surplus value of imports over exports must be paid with bullion taken

out of the country. As long as this evil exists, and is allowed to increase, he sees nothing but ruin for the future. He therefore suggests that foreigners should be imitated even to their laws against smuggling. For the native smoker he has no mercy; the first punishment is to be marking on the leg, the second on the hand, and the third death. The richer classes might be allowed to buy themselves off, or, in other words, pay for a licence.

The following is an extract from a report forwarded to Peking by Yihshan, generalissimo at Canton, respecting the French:—

"England and France are neighbours, but each is a separate kingdom. The former has been famed for its energetic disposition; and both of them, contending for territory, were engaged for many years in hostilities, but subsequently concluded a peace.

"In the 12th moon of last year (January 1842) the chiefs Jancigny and Cécille were on board of a vessel which had recently arrived and anchored at Hongkong, stating that more ships of war would follow them.

"While giving private directions for investigating this matter, it was reported to us that Cécille had come to Canton in a boat; and we

learned from the Hong merchants that the object of his visit was to have some conversation with the Mandarins. We, your ministers, considered that the said nation had, in its commercial intercourse, been reverentially obedient, and that the English, by proving themselves refractory, and by waging war, had interfered with the trade of all nations, and given rise to resentment. As the chiefs wished to talk privately, we yielded to circumstances, and relaxed in our dignity, in order to adopt plans for attacking barbarians with barbarians. At our conference he stated that their king had heard about the war between England and China, and, being apprehensive that French merchant vessels might be molested, had sent him for their protection, and likewise to act the part of a mediator (if called upon).

"Our answer was: — 'Your king had always borne the character of devoted obedience: this was well known. The English are irreclaimably obstinate, perverse, and cruel; and all nations may, on that account, be injured by them. As your king has now sent you with a ship of war, we shall, if you indeed exert yourself, report it to the throne, and the great emperor will then show extra-

ordinary favour towards you.' He replied, that though the English were at war with China, still there existed peace with France; and he could not avail himself of any circumstances to commence hostilities, nor would he act foolishly. If he attacked them without reason, other states would be indignant at this: it would be best, therefore, for the central nation to cease fighting with the English, and make some satisfactory arrangement. We inquired by what means he proposed to bring about a pacification; and he answered, that he would apply to the English, and if they agreed to his proposals, there would be an end of the difficulties; but if they refused, hostilities might be resumed.

"As, however, the English had at that time greatly aroused the wrath of your Majesty, by taking Ningpo and other places, and a terror-spreading general had already been ordered to exterminate them, we could not permit Cécille to bring them to a parley. He then said that he was proceeding to have a meeting with the English chief, and if he had any news, would communicate the same to us. We thus resolved on bestowing some reward upon him.

"Then we ascertained that he had some conversation with Pottinger at Hongkong,

and subsequently went to Manilla to inspect the ships of war, and leave directions. In the second moon (March, 1842), Jancigny handed in a paper, which also treated of peace, and expressed a hope that the island might be granted to the refractory English. When we, your ministers, examined into the conduct of the French, we perceived that, being at peace with the English, they intended to reap the benefit of their interference, and thought to divide the spoil: we therefore considered them as imbued with barbarian principles, and in every respect crafty. The military chief had been reverentially obedient; but how could we know that he was not going to pry into the affairs of the country, and give rise to additional troubles? Though their own merchants, with the Americans and others, still carry on the customary trade, yet the chiefs seek, without any apparent cause, to bring about peace with the English, which is suspicious.* We therefore rejected their offers with fair words, and directed them

* These Chinese Machiavels were bewildered and mystified by the straightforward and honest proposals of the French officers, and could not believe any thing to be true that had not a sinister design, or did not tend to their own scheme of engaging foreign aid.

not to aid the rebels, lest gems and common stones be consumed together. If, however, they would exert themselves in behalf of China, the great Emperor would confer reward. We, moreover, commanded our naval officers to keep an eye upon this chief; and now, not wishing to hide the matter from your Majesty, report the above."

The remarks appended to the foregoing paper contain a more judicious view of the French proposal; but they were written after the event: — "The sincere intentions of the French were very apparent: if they had been allowed to treat with the English, the latter might have listened; and, had they not assented, it might have caused a quarrel between them. The English might have entertained their fears in the progress of this scheme — than which there could be nothing better; but we waited half a year, and only *listened* to the proposals, while the English fleet proceeded up the Yangtse, and the peace was concluded before Cécille's arrival at Nanking."

The above extracts, having appeared in a demi-official shape, are exponents of the avowed sentiments of the Peking government, by whose sanction, and from whose archives,

much of the work was compiled and published; aided largely by the collections of Lin, which constitute the body of the book. The compiler triumphantly mentions, in quoting from a foreign newspaper, that the Russians, having an establishment at Peking, could easily carry their views into effect with the supreme government; while the British, and other nations, being debarred from the seat of the Chinese monarch, could not counteract them. But if the British are excluded from Peking, it is not by the treaty of Nanking, which, in Article XI., expressly declares that "Her Britannic Majesty's chief high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officer, both at the capital and in the provinces;"—the Chinese original being literally, "In the capital, and out of the capital, without distinction."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.